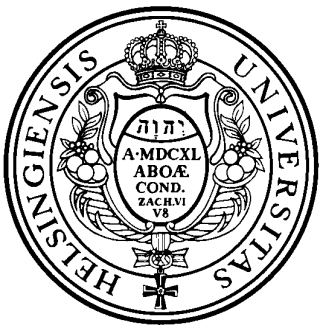

Master's thesis

Development Geography

Gendered perspectives on rehabilitation after involuntary resettlement in urban Sri Lanka

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2015

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

Involuntary displacements are more common than ever, and the reasons vary from natural disasters, wars and conflicts to environmental degradation and development-induced displacement. Typically, the victims of these phenomena inhabit the Global South, and are further impoverished due to the lack of having a say where and how to live. The lack of social justice and recognition of social development is typical in large-scale involuntary displacements, and also affects to the abilities of people to reconstruct and recover after resettlement. The linkage between forced migration and risk to impoverishment has been widely acknowledged especially in cases that lack participatory measures and proper compensation for the victims. When the impacts are recognized, it is understood that forced resettlement has effects in the economic, social, and physical spheres of life, and can be a major burden for the urban poor. However, involuntary displacement also disrupts the attachments and constructions of sense of place, which have further impacts on social cohesion. The question of community reorganization is crucial in the context where resettlement is simultaneous and combines various heterogeneous groups.

The aim of this research is to examine the extent and quality of rehabilitation after involuntary displacement in an urban environment in Sri Lanka. The focus in this research is given to women, as gender is a significant factor in resettlement outcomes, yet it is often ignored in planning and implementation. Gender roles and norms in Sri Lanka are still fixed and conventional, making it an interesting approach to study resettlement and rehabilitation and the daily interactions and perceptions on them. A case study for this research took place in four resettlement sites in the outskirts of Colombo Metro Region, Sri Lanka, which is in the midst of significant urban development plans that aim to relocate tens of thousands of slum dwellers in the need to release prime lands for investments, simultaneously beautifying the city and fighting frequent flooding.

The methodological approach applied in this study addresses feminist geography while it looks at rehabilitation measures in the everyday life point of view. It utilized semi-structured interviews of resettled women as a key research method. The case study took place in upgraded underserved settlements that inhabit tsunami-displaced people and development-induced displaced people. Also local experts were interviewed in order to gain a broader understanding of the dynamics and urban policies in the Colombo Metro Region. The case evidences that rehabilitation is a slow process of adaptation, and that physical assets alone cannot improve the livelihoods of slum dwellers. More emphasis should be put into the social relations and community dynamics if participatory measures and development-from-within are to fully deliver. Also full tenure is needed in order to the people to adapt to the mainstream society. For women the question of belonging and reconstructing the sense of place is essential as they spend a lot of their time at home and the immediate environment, and are traditionally in charge of homemaking. Therefore the sense of place and community are essential in the creation of social cohesion and management of the new neighborhood, and along with gender sensitive approaches should not be overlooked if sustainable resettlement is to be pursued as a consequence of ever more crowded cities of the South.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords

Involuntary displacement, resettlement, rehabilitation, urban development, gender sensitivity, sense of place, sustainable resettlement

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

Pakkosiirrot ovat yleisempiä kuin koskaan, ja syyt vaihtelevat luonnononnettomuuksista sotiin, konflikteihin, ympäristön tilan heikkenemiseen, ja kehitysprojekteihin. Tyypillisesti näiden ilmiöiden uhrit asuttavat globaalia etelää, ja uhkaavat köyhtyä entisestään ilman päätösvaltaa siitä miten ja missä asua. Sosiaalisen oikeudenmukaisuuden ja kehityksen puute on tavallista suurten kokoluokkien pakkosiirtoprosesseissa, ja vaikuttaa siksi myös ihmisten kykyyn rakentaa elämäänsä uudelleen. Pakkosiirtojen ja köyhtymisen välinen riski on hyvin tiedostettu etenkin silloin, kun osallistavat menetelmät ja kompensaatio ovat puutteellisia. Yleisesti on kuitenkin ymmärretty, että pakkosiirrot vaikuttavat ihmisten talouteen, sosiaalisiin suhteisiin, ja fyysiseen ympäristön tilaan. Siksi ne ovat suuri taakka kaikkein köyhimmille. Pakkosiirrot vaikuttavat kuitenkin myös ihmisten kykyyn luoda merkityksiä paikkoihin ja kokea kuuluvansa yhteisöihin. Ne vaikuttavat siksi myös sosiaaliseen koheesioon. Yhteisöjen kyky järjestäytyä uudelleen on oleellinen tarkastelun kohde erityisesti silloin, kun asuttaminen koskee heterogeenisiä ryhmiä samanaikaisesti.

Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on tarkastella sopeutumista uusilla asuinalueilla pakkosiirtojen jälkeen urbaanissa Sri Lankassa. Painoarvoa annetaan erityisesti naisten näkökulmille, sillä sukupuolittuneisuus on oleellista sopeutumistoimissa. Kuitenkin se on usein jätetty vähälle huomiolle projektien suunnittelussa ja toteutuksessa. Naisten roolit ja niihin liittyvät normit ovat Sri Lankassa edelleen perinteisiä, mikä lisää tutkimuksen ja sen näkökulman kiinnostavuutta. Tapaustutkimus toteutettiin neljällä asuinalueella pääkaupunki Colombon liepeillä. Metropolialueella on meneillään lukuisia kehitysprojekteja jotka uhkaavat kymmeniä tuhansia slummiasukkaita. Syitä pakkosiirroille ovat investointien houkutteleminen, kaupunkikuvan muutos, ja tulvantorjunta.

Metodologialtaan tämä tutkimus tukee feinististä maantiedettä antaessaan painoarvoa sopeutumistoimille naisten jokapäiväisestä näkökulmasta. Tutkimuksessa tehtiin puolistrukturoituja haastatteluja uudelleen asutetuille naisille entisillä slummialueilla. Haastateltavat oli pakkosiirretty joko tsunamin tai kehitysprojektin takia. Paikallisia asiantuntijoita haastateltiin niin ikään paremman kokonaiskuvan hahmottamiseksi yleisesti kaupunkipoliittisesta tilanteesta. Tapaustutkimus osoittaa, että sopeutuminen pakkosiirtojen jälkeen on hidasta, ja että fyysiset ominaisuudet eivät riitä parantamaan slummiasukkaiden elinolosuhteita. Samankaltaisten projektien tulisi keskittyä enemmän sosiaalisten suhteiden merkitykseen sekä osallistaviin menetelmiin. Muuten ruohonjuuritason kehitys näissä yhteisöissä on haasteellista. Asukkaat tarvitsevat myös täyden laillisen hallintaoikeuden maahansa ja kiinteistöönsä, jotta he voivat paremmin integroitua valtaväestöön. Naisille kysymys yhteisöön kuulumisesta ja paikkojen merkityksien uudelleenrakentamisesta on olennaista, sillä he perinteisesti viettävät paljon aikaa kotona ja ovat vastuussa kotitaloudesta. Tunne yhteenkuuluvuudesta paikkaan ja omaan yhteisöön on tärkeää myös sosiaalisen koheesion ja esimerkiksi ympäristön tilan ylläpitämisen kannalta. Näitä aspekteja, samoin kuin parempaa sukupuolitiedostavaa suunnittelua ja toteutusta, tarvitaan kun globaalin etelän urbaanit alueet muuttuvat yhä tiiviimmiksi, ja kestäville uudelleenasutusratkaisuille on kysyntää.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords

Pakkosiirrot, asutuspolitiikka, sopeutuminen, urbaani kehitys, sukupuolitiedostavuus, paikan merkitys, kestävä asutuspolitiikka

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List of Abbreviations

CBO	Community-based organization
CDC	Community development council
CENWOR	Centre for Women's Research
CEPA	Centre for Poverty Analysis
CMC	Colombo Municipal Council
CMR	Colombo Metro Region
GoSL	Government of Sri Lanka
ICES	International Centre for Ethnic Studies
IDP	Internally displaced person
IRR	Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction
JICA	Japanese International Cooperation Agency
LDO	Land Development Ordnance
LEI&CDP	Lunawa Environmental Improvement & Community Development Project
LKR	Sri Lankan Rupee (in December 1st 2013 1€ was equivalent of 178,35 LKR)
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MPH	Million Housing Programme
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NHDA	National Housing Development Authority
PAP	Project affected person
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SSA	Social Scientists Association
STP	Sustainable Townships Programme
UDA	Urban Development Authority
URP	Urban Regeneration Programme

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1 Introduction

Urbanization describes well the trends of demographic development in the 21st century. In 2007, the number of urban dwellers exceeded the amount of rural people (Beall et al. 2010; UN-Habitat 2003b) speeding up the process. Urbanization in itself is not necessarily problematic, yet the speed and scale are the factors that often create negative side effects, especially in the Global South. The UN-Habitat report on urban settlements projected in 1996 that the pace and volume of urbanization will exceed the capacities of countries and their urban environments, and will thus lead into increasing numbers of people living in sub-standard conditions. *Urban bias*, the fact that cities attract more investments, wealth and people than rural areas, is not always straightforward, as urban deprivation often receives less attention than rural poverty (Canares 2012: 316–317). For example, Beall et al. (2010: 10) note that many poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSPs) give attention disproportionately to rural development while merely ignoring urban deprivation and inequality. It seems that while cities attract and create wealth, the unequal distribution of it does not trickle down to all. Consequently, poverty in low- and middle-income countries is taking an ever more urban form (ibid.).

Occasionally, large-scale urbanization leads into massive urban development projects in order to keep up with growth. On the other end, many cities expand simultaneously and uncontrollably, and the local authorities and policies are dragging far behind the required standards for adequate infrastructure, social services, sanitation, transportation, housing, electrification and so on. In this context the discriminated and poor hardly benefit. Cities are usually developed with the driving interests of the powerful margin. Segregation and exclusion are common in cities of the South (Yiftachel 2009). Some materializations of the phenomenon are slum clearances, displacements and relocations of the excluded, usually marginalized and poor population. Displacements and relocations are common as the urban landscape serves as a platform for national urban policies, local power struggles and attraction to investments. Also big multinational development and infrastructure projects involve relocation or upgrading of slum settlements. Such processes are legitimized with arguments concerning health, lack of tenure and security, poverty reduction, environmental improvements, illegality or investments and generated revenue for the state. The assumption that the poor only occupy poor land is outdated, and as investors and authorities have started to realize this, slums are easily relocated from prime lands (Speak 2012: 345).

Urban displacements and relocations take place also at the time of crisis and disasters, and with these the pace can be even faster and less able to consider the social or physical needs of people. In the urban crowded context the issues are reinforced and multiplied. Disasters usually involve immediate humanitarian assistance and later on also longer term housing schemes. However, it is not only property people have lost, but also livelihoods, social relations and dignity. Additionally, shock, stress and mental trauma make it even worse. Many need to cope and restructure their social lives as family members are lost. Disaster victims are usually less able to restore livelihoods and wellbeing because of the depth and scope of losses. Needless to say, with displacements followed by disasters there are different dynamics and political interests involved compared to urban development projects, yet for the victims impacts can be comparable. Cernea and McDowell (2000) attempt to look at both domains together as similarities occur in displacement risks and also in reconstruction of lives. These include the risk of further impoverishment, loss of livelihoods and decision making, to name a few. Theoretical development for both is on its way, yet there is little evidence on how such heterogeneous groups interact and cooperate with each other in the new spaces and places. In fact, the longer-term process of rehabilitation and recovery is often lacking in policy guidelines, yet the reconstruction of new lives is slow in such challenging environments. There is also a significant difference whether the aim is to generally improve livelihoods, or only barely manage. Rehabilitation is crucial in this sense, and includes more factors than only economical or physical recovery. It is also necessary to notice that disasters attract global interests, sympathy and monetary flows easier than victims of systematic development and displacement projects (Boano, Zetter & Morris 2008).

Rehabilitation after displacements commonly looks at livelihoods, household economy, quality of assets, physical environment, land ownership and social relations and access to decision making (Cernea 2000). On a larger scale, it is also a question of proper administration, planning and implementation (de Wet 2006). Gender has only recently been introduced as a one of the major factors that affect into the outcomes of recovery, as gendered experiences are enforced in involuntary displacement and their outcomes (Mehta 2009). The consequences are different to women and men not only because of legal aspects and sources of livelihood, but also because women and men use space in various manners. Home as a familiar and safe place is filled with socially unfixed meanings and attachments (Massey 1994), which are challenged in forced migration. In an urban society where displacements are frequent and modern lifestyles with fewer attachments to places dominate, conventional

gender roles and household cultures are in crossroads. Home is often perceived as a place for the women (ibid.), and the loss and reconstruction of that concept is often left for them. In poor and conservative communities social networks and informal assistance can be crucial survival mechanisms, but they do not deliver if community trust and sense of belonging are shattered. These are aspects that current theorizations of rehabilitation and recovery after involuntary displacements do not look at, even though they might play a crucial role in sustainable and gender sensitive resettlement.

After all the displacement of poor and marginalized people in urban environments, be it after a disaster or a development project, is a question of further marginalization and impoverishment, and/or social and economic inclusion and sustainable poverty eradication measures. Displacement and resettlement processes can easily lead into one or the other, and it is largely a consideration of the policies and approaches utilized. Gender sensitivity is one attempt addressed to significantly increase equality and positive outcomes (Mehta 2009). All in all, large global cities of the South visualize the fundamental inequalities that underlie in the urban dynamics of different socio-economic groups. The disparities are emphasized in displacement and relocation processes that are usually involuntary and lacking participation, social development, restoration elements or other activities that would even out the impoverishment risks that follow uprooting. When looking at these processes it is underlined that large cities of the Global South are more biased than ever in terms of social and economic wellbeing.

1.1 Background

Globally, there were some 70 million forced migrants in 2012 due to conflicts, disasters, war, persecution, environmental degradation and development projects (IFRC 2012: 14). UNHCR reports that the number of forcibly displaced people is estimated to have been extraordinary large in 2013 – mostly due to conflicts and disasters (2013). This group of people includes refugees, asylum seekers and *internally displaced people* (IDP) worldwide. It is a massive and heterogeneous group that is defined by the fact that they are on the move unwillingly, often forced to leave their permanent residence, livelihoods, social safety nets and relationships behind. Forced migrants face a great risk of impoverishment and vulnerability and often lack ownership of their lives (Cernea & McDowell 2000).

In the public discourse, urban relocations and displacements may not be well linked with the conventional understanding of forced migration, which includes dramatic disasters, conflicts

and persecution. However, they should. IFRC estimated that in 2011 there were approximately 41,3 million IDPs of which 15 million were displaced due to development processes, and another 15 million due to disasters excluding conflicts (2012: 15). However, these numbers are only estimations because of the difficult ways to collect data or proof its reliability (ibid.). IDPs are an extremely vulnerable and unrecognized group as they do not hold legally binding status similar to refugees (UNHCR 2014). In the context of urban poverty and resettlements, they are likely to face an increased risk for impoverishment and social disarticulation due to the lack of having a say where, when and how to live.

Internal forced displacement processes provide a large array of perspectives to study poverty and inequality in the urban context. When location changes, it affects to the daily interaction and using of space. In an urban environment, commuting to work can be time consuming. Children may need to change schools or travel long distances. The social networks need to be reconstructed due to resettlement, and this might require extra effort also in taking care of daily errands and receiving assistance or services. New social environment can cause tension and conflict, let alone the sense of not belonging. These can lead to further social problems. In terms of household economics, there can be increased monthly expenses on commuting, bills and maintaining the environment. House construction might require taking a loan, and informal markets are risky with high interest rates. In a worst-case scenario, public services are lost and means for livelihoods are destroyed. Urban gardening, which can be crucial for food security, might be impossible. To Bala (2008), these various negative impacts related to involuntary resettlement are foremost a question of lack of social justice towards the poor. Involuntary resettlement can also increase the level of social stigma and exclusion. Moreover, urban and systematic displacements do not catch similar global attention as sudden shocks and disasters.

Involuntary displacements in urban underserved settlements can be a significant burden to women in particular (Mehta 2009; Mathur 2009). Studies show that everyday survival strategies in slums are perceived differently between women and men (ibid.). Sub-standard housing, services and hygiene have an overwhelming impact on women as they are often in charge of the family – nursing, feeding and spending time in a close proximity to home. More often than ever, women are also the heads of households. Among cultural and social reasons, also new urbanization trends explain this (see e.g. COHRE 2008: 10; Deshingar & Grimm 2004: 15). On top of day-to-day struggle, evictions and relocations are an especial burden for poor women, who often lack rights and ownership to property, do not have a say in dislocation

processes, are uneducated and therefore do not have access to knowledge, and often also need to give up on their social safety networks (Mehta 2009). Displacements reconstruct patriarchal norms of a society where gender is not considered (Baviskar 2009). Despite of that, women and children are the majority of victims in many displacement processes. Their position in urban environment and unauthorized settlements is usually double biased, as they are subordinated by gender and by state (ibid.). Baviskar (2009: 72) says women bear burden on migration also because they have already done it least once while marrying into the husband's family.

The geographical focus of this study is in Sri Lanka's capital region Colombo, where urban regeneration projects and Boxing Day tsunami have led into large-scale displacements in the recent years (CPA 2014). Colombo Metro Region (CMR) and its outskirts have suffered from urban sprawl and lack of strategic and coherent planning (Dayaratne 2010) and are scattered with underserved settlements. For decades, different strategies and authorities have been established to solve the problem (ibid.). Additionally, in 2009 and 2010, Sri Lanka was among those most affected countries with largest numbers of displaced people in Asia (IFRC 2012: 16) – mainly uprooted because of civil war, Boxing Day tsunami and various development projects. This research examines the gendered perspectives on rehabilitation after involuntary resettlement of tsunami-displaced people and project-affected people (PAPs) of an internationally funded environmental infrastructure project in the urban underserved settlement of CMR.

1.2 Study area and context of the study

Sri Lanka is a country of approximately 20 million inhabitants on a 65,610-km² area, located at the tip of the Indian peninsula, surrounded by the Indian Ocean (UNDP 2012; see figure 1). The location close to the equator (7°0'N, 81°0'E) ensures a tropical climate all year around. Sri Lanka has two monsoon seasons, southwestern from June to October and northeastern from December to March, and inter-monsoons in between. In 2010, the per capita GDP in Sri Lanka was 2400 USD. In 2009, 8,9 percent of Sri Lankans lived below poverty line. Consequently, Sri Lanka performs well compared to its neighboring countries in South Asia in economic and social development, as it also ranks 97th in HDI score in 2011 (UNDP 2012). Sri Lanka is a country of diverse ethnicities, with Sinhalese representing 74, 5%, Sri Lankan Tamils 11,9 %, Indian Tamils 4,6 %, Sri Lankan Moors 8,3 %, Burghers 0,2 % and Malays 0,2 % of the total population (ibid.). However, despite many achievements, strong

regional disparities exist. Generally, the rural, war-torn northern and eastern part of country lag behind in economic and social development. Poverty in Sri Lanka is mainly rural (see figure 2). The regional disparities are also strongly linked to ethnic and religious minorities; Sri Lankan Tamils and Muslims. On the other hand, also the central areas of the country dominated by the estate sector, which is populated by Indian Tamils, is also impoverished and struggling with basic human development indicators (ibid).

Colombo, the capital of Sri Lanka, is an overcrowded, polluted and highly segregated city that up until independence from the British rule had served as the model of Asian garden cities. Since then, and due to almost 30 years of national political instability, the city has deteriorated. Astonishingly, today half of the citizens in Colombo live in slums and shanties,

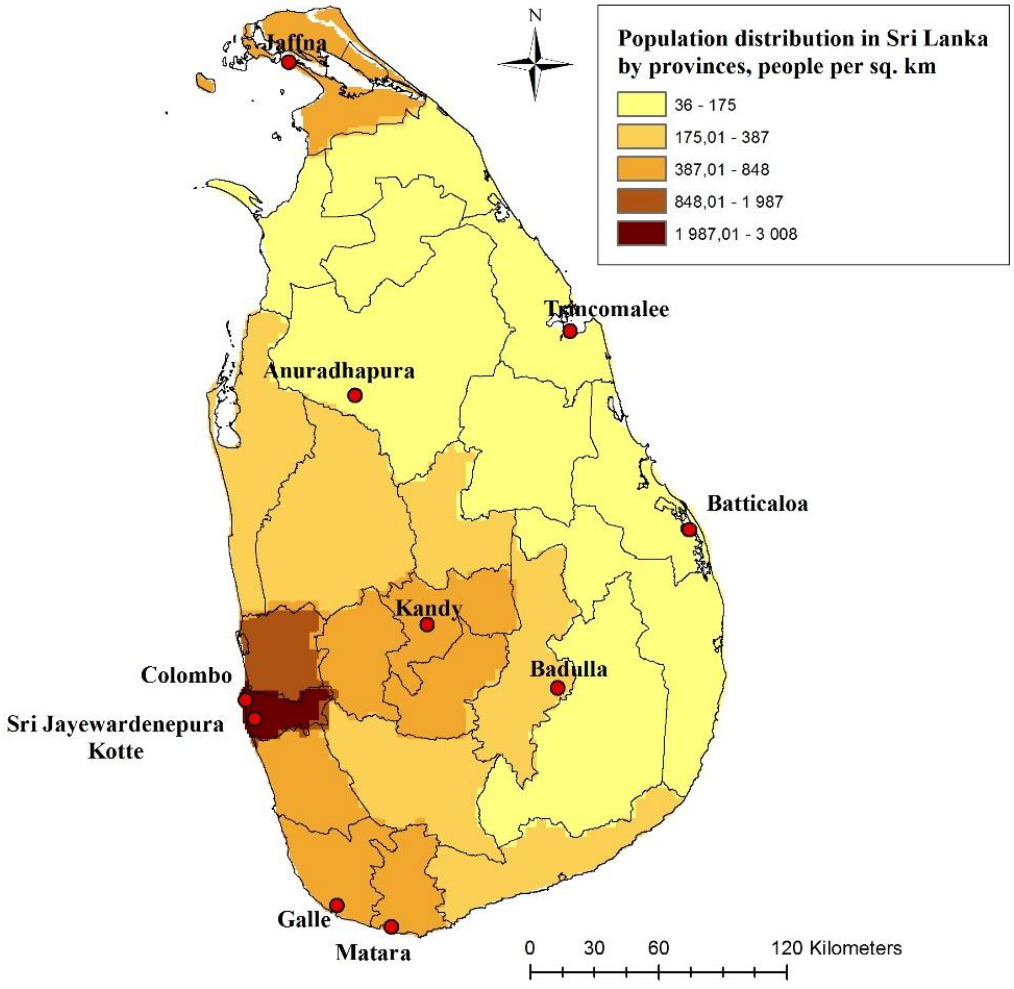

Figure 1 Population distribution in Sri Lanka. Western province, where Colombo Metro Region is located, is most dense province in the country.

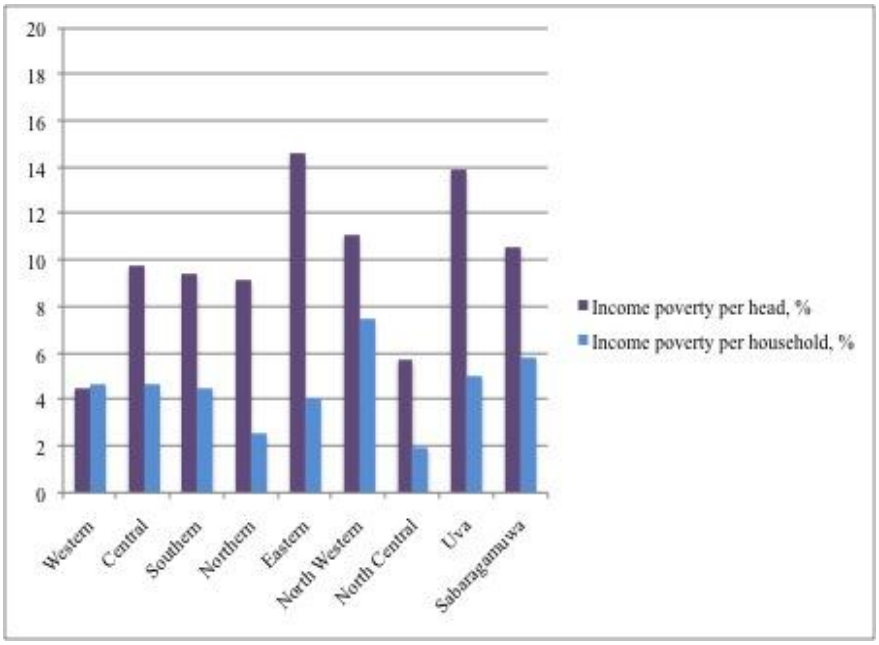

Figure 2 Income poverty in Sri Lanka per province in 2009-2010. Some figures from the Northern province are lacking due to the conflict, and might bias the regional comparison. Colombo is situated in the Western province. The official poverty line in Sri Lanka was 3,028 LKR per person per month in 2009-2010 (UNDP 2012; Department of Census and Statistics 2011).

and the inhabitants deal with major problems with infrastructure and traffic, social inequality and environmental issues (Dayaratne 2010). The city is growing beyond its boundaries, yet the profound ways of measuring urbanization and population density in Sri Lanka are rather outdated (Satterthwaite 2010: 87). Urbanization level in Sri Lanka is not dependent on absolute population or density, but the administrative status. There are 41 urban councils, 15 municipal councils and 271 *Pradeshiya Sabhas* (Sinhala) or *Pradesha Sabhais* (Tamil), which serve as divisional councils (Ministry of Local Government and Provincial Councils 2013). Therefore, even relatively urbanized and dense villages in the countryside are not included, and changes in population figures do not necessarily affect in the official share of rural/urban population. By the official definition, in 2010, Colombo Municipal Council (CMC) was a city of 642,000 inhabitants (Satterthwaite 2010: 87). However, due to urban expansion and integration, an estimated population of Colombo district in 2013 was 2,362,000 people (Department of Census and Statistics – Sri Lanka). Because of these developments, Colombo is now more referred to as Colombo Metro Region (CMR) which covers CMC, Sri Jayawardenepura Kotte and Dehiwala – Mt. Lavinia municipal councils, and serves now better the urban development plans and implementation of the capital area (Dayaratne 2012: 224–225).

Despite of global urbanization trends, Sri Lanka is still a predominantly rural country (see figure 1), where the centre for social activity is a village. Partly due to this and the village-centered lifestyle, urbanization in Sri Lanka has been stagnant in the recent years (World Bank 2014). However, this is about to change, and resources are directed in massive development projects and urban improvement (CPA 2014). Urban politics of modernization in Colombo

date back from 1977, when market liberalization took place in the country (van Horen 2002). Nowadays, the makeover is still going strong, and one project big in scale is the World Bank funded Metro Colombo Urban Development Project (2013), which focuses on improving the city infrastructure and urban environment with upgraded drainage systems and flood control. Urban development and housing schemes are part of a national development plan called Mahinda Chintana (2010), which aims at directing the Sri Lankan society to be more urban, educated and growth-oriented. So far the impacts have been mainly physical, and for the projects to succeed there is a need for coherent, transparent and effective management (World Bank & UN-Habitat 2012). Urbanization plans would affect millions of people and require a huge budget (Mahinda Chintana 2010). In CMC alone, 66,000 households are about to be relocated (Daily Mirror 2013). Urban regeneration programs and slum demolitions are implemented by the Ministry of Defence and Urban Development, of which the President's brother Gotabaya Rajapakse is in charge of. Targets in abolishing slums and providing proper shelter for all shanty dwellers are in need for socially sustainable solutions.

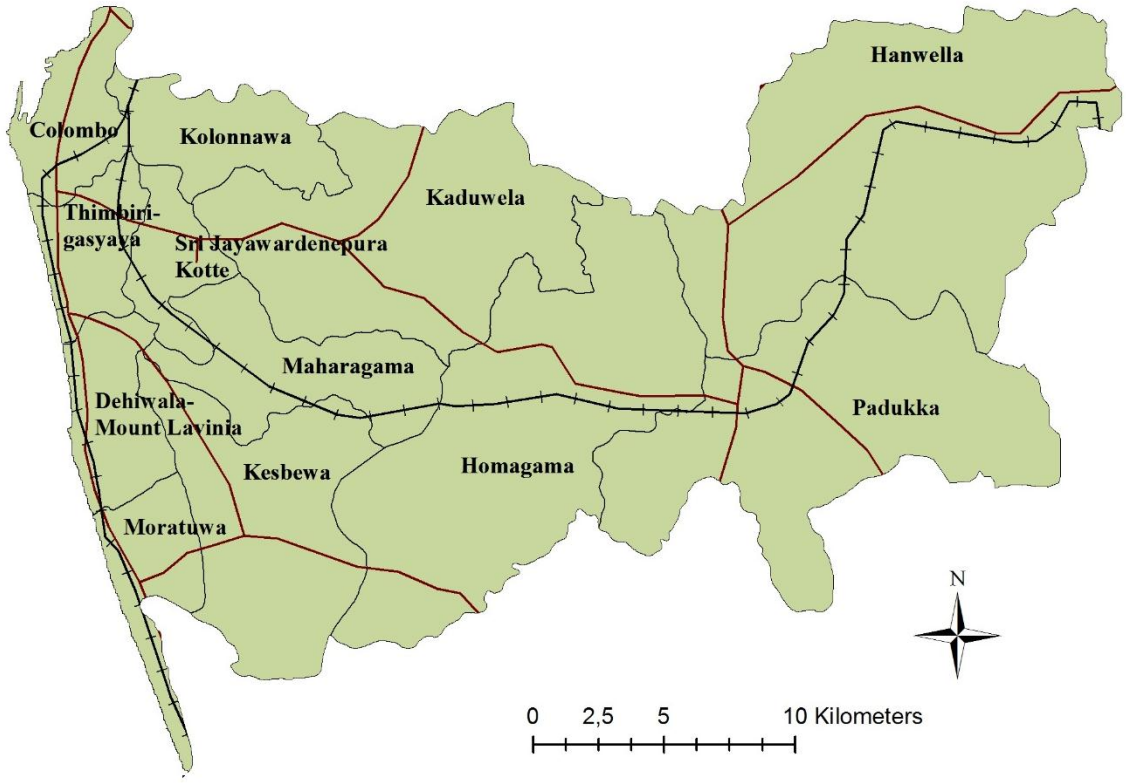

Figure 3 Map of Colombo district and its administrative areas. The case study of this research takes place in Dehiwala-Mount Lavinia and Moratuwa municipal councils.

This research concentrates on urban low-income settlements in the outskirts of CMR, in Moratuwa and Dehiwala – Mt. Lavinia municipal councils, which are more or less integrated

into CMR as an outcome of large-scale *urban sprawl* effect (see figure 3). The spillover effects from policy making, growth plans and investments in the capital are also seen in the neighboring municipalities as economic and infrastructural integration and increased land prices. Even though independent administrative areas, urban development in these is included in the wider scale of CMR development discourse. The case study area of this research is an underserved settlement that was a target of a resettlement and upgrading programme financed by Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and implemented by UN-Habitat. The foremost rationale for the project was the environmental improvement of local water bodies and drainage infrastructure. An additional component was the participatory community development and improving the livelihoods of the people (UN-Habitat 2009). Due to the Boxing Day tsunami and the massive need for permanent housing schemes in the southwestern coastline, tsunami housing was later on integrated into the original slum development and resettlement project (ibid.).

1.3 Research question

The purpose for this research is to find out how simultaneous displacements and resettlements of people coming from different backgrounds affect to the reorganized communities, and how rehabilitation in this context is realized. The study goes into the individual level while it tries to understand the unique economic, social, political and environmental implications of such processes while giving voice especially to the women involved, as their role is usually left unheard. Furthermore, the perspective is given to the everyday life perceptions of rehabilitation after displacement, and how the daily elements of life affect into the ways in which women reconstruct sense of place and belonging in a reorganized social arena. Studies show that women carry a bigger burden of involuntary relocations compared to men as they are in charge of the household and children, use services and common property, cultivate home gardens, depend on social relationships and assistance, and spend more time in the proximity of the house (see e.g. Amrithalingam & Lakshman 2011; Fernandes 2009; Mehta 2009; Mitra & Rao 2009; Speak 2012). Compared to men, women often also lack security of tenure, are uneducated and lack power in decision-making and ownership (ibid). The question of reconstruction of place is geographically valid and also serves the investigation of gendered perceptions on resettlement. However, studies on it in involuntary displacement are only a few. Also elaborations on how simultaneous resettlement of heterogeneous groups succeeds in sustainable and inclusive rehabilitation and recovery are scarce. Integrated theorizations of these two are insufficient, despite the fact that sense of place has major social dimensions that

are easily shaken. Thus, understanding the ways in which displaced women perceive the impacts of resettlement, and reconstruct spaces and places in the renegotiated social areas through the narratives of their everyday life experiences are the key for this research. Furthermore, I aim to answer to the question whether gender sensitivity is important in involuntary resettlement in this sense, and should the reconstruction of sense of place be better integrated into resettlement planning and theorizations on rehabilitation and recovery.

Based on abundant literature, the hypothesis is that sustainable rehabilitation and poverty reduction is challenging after resettlement, and the integration of heterogeneous groups makes it more difficult. Community development and participatory measures can help in this sense, but are not an unambiguous solution (Miraftab 2009). Furthermore, slum upgrading or new housing schemes cannot only solve the physical infrastructure, but should focus more on the sustainable social inclusion and empowerment of people. Also, social and cultural aspects should be reconsidered when simultaneous integration in resettlement projects is pushed forward. Sense of place and belonging are foremost reconstructed through social relations and networks also in the context of displacement, and they are highly gendered. It is also assumed that the conservative and patriarchal culture of Sri Lanka does not consider gender as a major issue in resettlement planning and implementation. Fernando et al. (2009) claim resettling and displacing the already vulnerable will deteriorate their position even more, and therefore it is appropriate to assume that in the case study context there are some major challenges in recovery.

This study has been motivated by several visits to Sri Lanka, and the eventful recent history of the country that creates a unique setting to study current urban development, resettlement processes and gendered perspectives to it. Uprooting of people in Sri Lanka has been sadly common in the last few decades. The country has suffered from man-made conflicts, but also natural disasters and an authoritarian regime. Furthermore, Sri Lanka is a country with notable economic growth and speed and increasing middle class. At the same time it suffers from overwhelming social inequality and discrimination, and the society is rather conservative and patriarchal. Compared to neighboring countries, Sri Lanka does well in terms of gender equality (UNDP 2012), yet the roles are still unquestioned and in legal terms women face a lot of oppression (Ruwanpura 2006). The gender perspective was chosen for this study to both narrow down the scale of the research and also to emphasis a feminist, counter-hegemonic approach in the topic. Gender is often a silenced yet evident determinant in resettlement planning and implementation (Mathur 2009).

2 Theoretical framework

Structuralism concentrates on explaining the current structures that exist in the society, the evident (and hidden) hierarchies and relationships that dominate and guide people's actions (Häkli 1999). In many cities in the Global South, social hierarchy creates immense differences between the poor and the rich. This does not only externalize in the amount of capital, but also in the opportunities for one to have ownership of her life with the most basic human rights. The lack of education, for example, automatically decreases one's opportunities to have her voice heard, to defend herself, have a better-paid job and then provide a better life for her children. People in the economic and political center, however, have the power over the decisions that directly affect to the life of the poor. The socially constructed urban space in many cities is evidently biased. Häkli explains that urban settlements are good examples of how social structures come alive as poor people are evicted from central areas to reconstruct and create more profitable spaces for the middle class (1999: 119–120). Similarly after disaster induced displacements people are dependent on humanitarian assistance and guidance from the top level with little personal ownership of opinion. In order to examine the lives' of the poor these power relations and structures need to be exposed, unraveled and analyzed. After doing this is it possible to contribute in creating theoretical frameworks and guidelines for improvements.

As Häkli says, structuralist and humanistic (understanding) methodologies have got closer in the recent years (1999: 93). They share and overlap some characteristics, and therefore combining these two can be very prolific. In this study, the narratives and experiences of the relocated women are examined, as well as the spaces these narratives evolve in. Humanistic methodology supports the gaze of an individual, because no structures or statistics can truly determine all our actions (Häkli 1999: 63–95). To clarify this, human behavior is much more than following certain socially constructed guidelines, and we need to understand the reasons for this. The unique experiences can, hopefully, represent the social structures and hierarchies that materialize in the urban landscape of resettlements in CMR.

The *knowledge interest* of the study is emancipatory and critical, which is typical in social sciences. It means that this type of interest tries to provide new knowledge that could change normative discourses, structures and understandings through research. In development geography this type of research is common. However, as this study aims to reveal the personal experiences on displacements and relocation of the citizens, such a single study cannot make

vast generalizations or create an overall understanding of the victims' positions in urban displacement and resettlement processes. Even though all narratives are personal, this research aims to gather some sort of synopsis and attach these stories to a wider perspective with supportive literature. This knowledge, then, can support further research.

2.1 Feminist approach

Postmodernism encourages us to see things differently, from a different point of view. It wants to break down normalized discourses and understandings of life and also science itself (Häkli 1999). This study approaches the issue of urban resettlements in CMR from a counter-hegemonic perspective, which is typical in postmodernist thinking (Häkli 1999: 187). In geography, giving voice to the marginalized and oppressed is called *feminist approach*. Most typically feminist study challenges heteronormativity, west-centralized and male-lead approaches (Nayak & Jeffrey 2011), same as in postmodernist studies (Häkli 1999: 188). In other words, issues are seen from marginalized perspectives, such as women, poor or minority. Inequality is not only gendered, it can also be based on ethnicity, race, age, sexuality, religion or socioeconomic position (Speak 2012). Also sick and disabled are often discriminated. In Sri Lanka, the displaced citizens all over the country are mostly poor or belong to an ethnic minority (Fernando et al. 2009). This research gives voice to those discriminated by dislocation and resettlement, focusing especially on women, as in urban planning as well as in other sectors of the society they are continuously silenced. Even though the judgment of planning being a professional, middle class activity is outdated (Miraftab 2009: 41–42), it can rarely meet the needs and respond to the demands of the poor masses since on political and economic level formal urban transformation is usually led by the interest of those in power. Even so, in the Global South most urban construction is unplanned and informal (Miraftab 2009: 42) which encourages authorities to displacements and land grabbing. However, to create a just city all voices need to be heard. In CMR, some participatory methods have been used in resettlement processes, and the citizens have been compensated and supported economically (Hewawasam 2009). However, some researchers critique that participatory planning is not enough in such conditions where centralized authoritarian regime can use this to distribute its power and silence opposition. Miraftab (2009) calls this 'dominance through inclusion'. Häkli says in many cases citizen participation is an inevitable nuance to justify current plans, but it normally has only a little effect on the intended outcome (1999: 149).

2.2 Sense of place

This study emphasizes the reconstruction and meanings of place. Sense of place and reconstruction of it through experiences and social interaction are some of the key theories that geographical research explains the world with. Massey argues that place is a compilation of feelings, social relations and attachments, and therefore is in a constant process of change (1994: 2–5). The ways in which people sense a place is also dependent on various features and backgrounds, such as gender, religion, age and ethnicity. These social relations coexist in all geographical scales, from household to global level (1994: 168). She also says these relations and attachments exist *in space* and *across space*, meaning that they reflect to other social phenomena as well. So, *space* becomes a *place* when personal attachments and meanings are invested in it (Domosh & Seager 2001).

For an individual, a certain place can have several connotations depending on the social relations, feelings and networks that are attached to it, and therefore have different meanings at different times and, of course, to different people. Identities of places are thus continuously unfixed and ever changing (Massey 1994: 169). Hay (1998) argues that the sense of place is dependent on residential status, age, and relation to a place, and these define the depth of attachment. In other words, length of stay and ownership status can significantly affect to the ways in which a certain place is perceived. Newcomers' attachments are usually vaguer. On the other hand, the conventional understanding of this is challenged in a modern society, where mobility is maximized and ancestral connotations to a place are scarce. Hay also says the sense of place can be divided into two: *rootedness* and *bondedness,* the first referring to physical attachments to home and the environment, and the latter to social relations and community. Despite of the social relations and attachments in a certain location, when discussing home as a place and how it is constructed, Massey says it is also important to understand that the sensed security of home is foremost constructed in contrast to the outside. "Identity of a place… derives, in large part, precisely from the specificity of its interactions with 'the outside'" (1994: 169). Hay says enforced security is one of the outcomes of the positive construction of sense of place. Furthermore, it can also contribute to community stability and social cohesion.

Sense of community, then, derives from commitment and interdependence (Chigeza et al. 2014). It is further characterized by membership or experiences of belonging, possibilities to make decisions in a community, consideration of emotional, physical and relational needs, as well as shared values and emotions (ibid.). The emotional connectedness to other community

members enforces development, empowerment and abilities to take control over oneself (ibid.). Oliver-Smith also says that the sense of belonging to a place and to a community, which most likely has cultural and historical aspects as well, also strengthens social trust and social security (2014: 75). The sense of community can play a crucial role in empowerment and social development after resettlement, as Hirschon shows (2000). She says that unlike the general understanding, sense of community does not always require economic recovery, but can also arise from the shared experiences and identity that has been formulated as a contrary to the 'outside' world. Massey further criticizes the common understanding of sense of community by pointing out that today place and community are not interchangeable, and neither is anymore the basis for identity formation (1994: 163). So, community and places can be extended and transformed, which is highly likely in a modern society where spheres of life are growing further away from one's place of origin.

The construction of a place is an important notion when discussing how it is lost due to displacement or disaster, and how simultaneously the security, stability and social cohesion are challenged. Oliver-Smith argues that whilst a family member or important asset is lost due to disaster or displacement, the sense of self also changes and this, then, affects to the process of rehabilitation and reconstruction of everyday life (2014: 75). Identity formation is strongly linked to sense of place and belonging (Massey 1994: 167), but disrupted in resettlement situation. Maintaining communal and social ties seems to help the creation of more resilient displaced communities (Oliver-Smith 2014). Sense of place and sense of community are essential to examine in the context of displacement and resettlement in poor communities, when risk for further impoverishment is already high. Furthermore, Read argues that for the creation of resettlement (space), the people need the sense of eligibility that comes through the experience of displacement (2012). In other words, the sense of place (and space) in the resettlement area can also be constructed via the shared experiences of displacement and relocation. However, based on Oliver-Smith's arguments, this shared experience does not mean that communities can solely build up on that.

Finally, Massey continues by arguing that places are still gendered, despite modernization, and gender roles are reconstructed in a relation to how certain places are perceived (1994). So, despite the fact that women have entered labor markets and can be highly educated also in conservative communities, the socially constructed set of norms still prevails. This is evident when looking at which particular jobs women access, which particular studies they pursue, how they should dress or behave, or what duties they have at home. The distinction

between public and private spheres also has culturally interesting reflections on gender roles. Traditionally, women are in charge of the latter. For example, the *role of a mother* and *a home* are closely linked together, presenting something stable, symbolic and safe. This linkage remains strong even in gender equality havens such as the Scandinavia. Home is traditionally the place for women, especially in conservative societies such as Sri Lanka. Massey also says that while the home as a place is obviously gendered, the way it is constructed also immobilizes women (1994: 179). It is relevant to add that not only the place per se, but the activities and expectations linked to it are the factors that define women's duties and daily interactions. Domosh and Seager (2001) argue that everyday life spaces and activities in them are usually explained also in terms of gender. Sri Lankan urban and poor neighborhoods are no exception in this sense (see e.g. Kottegoda 2004). The consideration of gendered places is interesting especially in the context of involuntary displacements and rehabilitation, when looking the processes of masculine *housemaking* versus feminine *homemaking* (Sorensen 2000: 192).

3 Displacement processes

Involuntary displacements can be triggered by various reasons. In this research, only the processes that are linked to the case study in Sri Lanka are examined. This is to say that it is acknowledged that the scope is large, but there is no rationale to address it in its full capacity. Therefore, the key concepts of this study are *disaster induced displacement* and *development-induced displacement* (see figure 4). They are explained in this chapter by presenting some key theories and models to analyze and evaluate such processes in developing countries. Followed by displacement are *resettlement* and *rehabilitation*. Also their implications and direct and indirect consequences are examined with some overarching theoretical insights. They are also addressed from gender perspective. This chapter aims to compile a general understanding of these concepts in order to help the further examination of the case study in Colombo Metro Region.

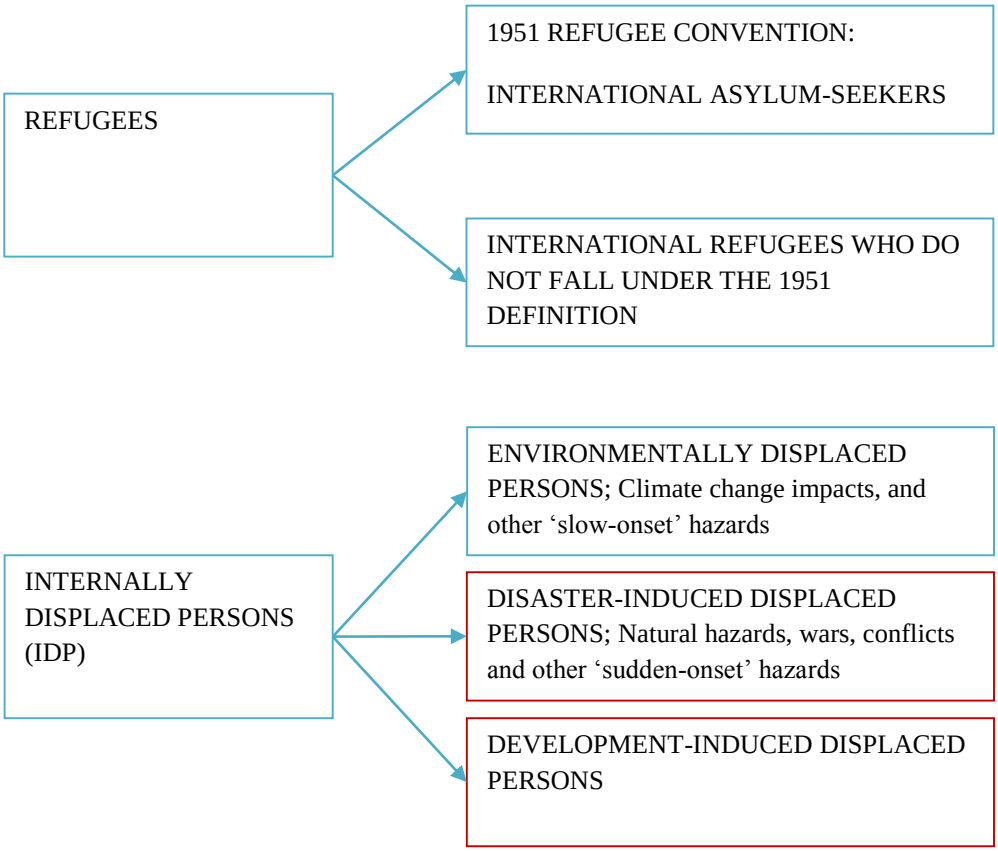

Figure 4 Conceptualizing forced migrants (Cohen & Bradley 2010). Red color indicates the groups focused on in this study.

3.1 Disaster-induced displacement

Most common reasons for internal *disaster-induced displacements* are wars, conflicts, violence, natural hazards and their direct and indirect causalities. These are what Cohen and Bradley (2010) call 'sudden-onset' disasters, where destruction and reconstruction efforts are immediate. People who face these disasters often need to move unexpectedly with no preparation to what's to come. The humanitarian aspect of these adds up to the fact that disaster-induced displaced people are also usually targets of global sympathy, assistance and foreign aid (Robinson 2003: 3). Large-scale disasters take place all over the world, but most people forced to move because of these inhabit the Global South where adaptation and reconstruction, let alone fundamental capabilities of the state to disaster prevention and response, are often inadequate. To make comparisons, hurricanes in the US cause less human damage than those in Bangladesh, Myanmar or the Philippines. Similarly, the earthquake in Haiti in 2010 caused severe damage and killed thousands, while seismic activity of a lot bigger scale in Chile had way less impact. The differences are major not only between, but also

within those countries, and impacts are usually differentiated by the social and economic status of people. Many poor communities are located in environmentally risky areas, are more densely inhabited, have more vulnerable housing structures, and usually depend more on land and common property resources that are prone to natural hazards. Also, the poor usually have less savings and access to insurance which would improve the capacity to recover. Fundamentally, this is also a question of access to decision making and knowledge, and ownership to decide on where and how to live. People are forced to move because of disasters; not only because of the immediate destruction they make, but also because of the lack of services and damaged sources of income. Thus, people may not have lost their homes, but the essential assets that are needed for basic living and everyday survival. A general assumption is that for the poorest and most vulnerable, who are often also the ones to be displaced, post-disaster migration is a negative outcome (Gray et al. 2014: 596). To challenge that perception, post-disaster relief work has now started to include also longer-term assistance in it, including also permanent housing, livelihood strategies and social development components. This approach is called 'building back better', referring to the aim to include further development into the damaged communities and not only aiming to the base line situation but way above that (Kennedy et al. 2008: 25). It means also that post-disaster resettlement should consider the wider context of the society in order to avoid impoverishment. It has also been understood that post-disaster mobility does not follow a certain pattern but is rather a complex set of factors, such as social networks (Gray et al. 2014). Despite of these improvements, the general understanding is that involuntary displacement causes severe impoverishment (Cernea 2000).

The downside of the term disaster-induced displacement, especially when talking about resettlement and coping strategies, is that it does not make a clear distinction between immediate migration and longer-term resettlement. In other words, both are included under the same categorization, even though they require very different theorization in their dynamics and longer-term effects. For example, immediate displacement usually takes place in camps, churches or at private homes. Sources of livelihood are lost, economic deprivation is sudden and social networks scattered. On the other hand, permanent relocation can provide carefully planned service network, means to livelihood restoration and community participation tools. Temporal considerations should be included in the definition of disaster-induced displacements. For disaster-induced displaced people, seeking support for survival is claimed to be a priority strategy as their own resources have been exceeded or destroyed (Ibañez et al. 2004). Active, social coping has been seen to be more effective for survival

(ibid.). However, Bang & Few note that post-disaster resettlement is a multi-dimensional process and that many other things beyond physical home need to be considered (2012). Generally, literature on post-disaster resettlement does analyze various housing schemes and coping strategies, but leaves out longer-term examination of everyday life strategies and integration of heterogeneous communities. Also the reconstruction of sense of community is essential in recovery (Sorensen 2000; Chigeza et al. 2014).

3.2 Development-induced displacement

Also development projects and land grabbing cause displacements. In fact, disaster or conflict induced displacements are the ones that catch attention, yet daily and systematic evictions take place internationally and intentionally. Cernea (2000) estimates that since 1980, 10 million people every year suffer from development or infrastructure-induced displacements globally, meaning over 200 million people in the last few decades. Development or infrastructure-induced displacements can be publically justified with various discourses, such as services for the majority, large-scale investments, illegal lodging, health hazards or city beautification, aka general development. Even environmental conservation works as a rationale (Ghertner 2011). What makes the development discourse perverse is the fact that for many, such projects actually hinder development and cause further impoverishment (Cernea 2000: 11–12). Baviskar (2009: 63) says a struggle against or with displacement is to focus on the multiple meanings of place, and the cultural, social and physical attachments in it. According to her, development-induced displacement is a punishment to the already most vulnerable. Of course, schools, hospitals, energy production facilities or transportation infrastructure are needed for large-scale social wellbeing, yet unjustifiably top-down governance can increase inequality (ibid.). These projects leave millions of people homeless in the name of 'common good'. One of the most significant issues related to development-induced displacement and resettlement is the lack of legal protection, something that has been overlooked by scholars and politicians (Barutciski 2006). It is also difficult to draw the line between forced and voluntary displacements, as not all actions are direct. Restricted access to and availability of land, food, services and shelter can also be the drivers to move (Haysom 2013).

State-driven, sudden and aggressive *forced evictions* are especially associated with large events and mass evictions of the working class or the poor (Davis 2011). The term *eminent domain* refers to the compulsory acquisition of land by the state (Ramanathan 2009) and is related to justifying forced evictions. It means that the state has power over investments and

development plans, and can use such acquisition in improving public services in a city (e.g. schools and roads). The aim of using the power of eminent domain has to be in public and general good, yet the definition of such activities is under discussion (ibid.). For example, in the US in 2005 the Supreme Court approved the utilization of the eminent domain doctrine in justifying the acquisition of private homes and turning them into private investment areas (Carpenter & Ross 2009). The case developed a debate over what can actually be defined as common good. The state should also make it up to those who are losing their property in the process (Ramanathan 2009). Globally, the compensations are also highly debatable and procedures vary (ibid.). The power of the *eminent domain* is exclusionary to those who are not holding legally approved rights to property, and is being particularly discriminative to the poor and marginalized (Carpenter & Ross 2009). The theory of eminent domain considers landowners and those with specified interests, but leaves out the landless or those without legal entitlements. Consequently, wealth is accumulated to those who are already better off. This is particularly disastrous in cities where economic and social inequality is massive, such as those in the Global South. Studies show that slum clearance only focuses on the symptoms of inequality and poverty, while ignoring the root causes of such phenomenon (Arimah 2010).

3.3 Responses to the negative impacts of displacement

In resettlement processes, the poor are often resettled into areas far away from the city center, having many social and economic impacts (Yntiso 2008). Resettlements in urban environment take often place due to high cost of land, which from a neoliberal perspective is more of value when used for investments, regeneration or public services and infrastructure. It can also be justified with environmental reasons, or merely the security and health issues inhabitants often face. Disaster-induced displacements and donor-driven housing can rarely consider all social and cultural aspects (Pellinen 2012). Yiftachel calls this exclusion phenomenon the 'blackening of the poor' (2009). Fortunately, there are evidenced case studies on successful relocation processes (see e.g. UN-Habitat 2003: 132), where participatory planning and needs assessment play significant role. However, it is still more common that the authorities do not have the capacity, resources or will to build up dialogue with the inhabitants or provide thoroughly planned resettlement sites with adequate infrastructure, services and possibilities to income generation (Arimah 2010: 146).

Compensation is a way to make up the losses to the affected people. Usually it is a one-off payment or, for example, a new piece of land or housing. According to the World Bank,

resettlement should provide "prompt and effective compensation at full replacement cost for losses of assets attributable directly to the project" (2004: 372). However, it is difficult to evaluate the true value of social aspects. Consequently, compensation measures are often criticized for only addressing assets but not the rights of the people (Bartlome et al. 2000: 4–5). Also, they might also address direct loss, but not indirect consequences such as loss of access to common property, or loss of status or relationships (Witter & Satterfield 2014). Also, compensation procedures can be dependent on the legal status of the tenant, and thus unauthorized settlers are not eligible for assistance, even though they are often the most vulnerable. Displacement and resettlement processes might put slum dwellers in very unequal position while the scope and quality of compensation depends on their legal status (World Bank 2004: 35). Finally, cash compensation is risky and might be used to repay debts or purchase alcohol or drugs instead of acquiring permanent new housing and land and other longer-term investments (ibid.). Studies suggest that compensation should be given out equally to both spouses in order to diminish the risk of gendered impoverishment (see e.g. Mehta 2009: 17; Mathur 2009: 189).

Rehabilitation is closely linked to resettlement and compensation. Similarly, rehabilitation measures suffer from inadequate understanding and resources from authorities in order to receive long term and sustainable results among the affected people (Bartolome et al. 2000). Material assets are more commonly considered over restoring livelihoods or building up better community participation and social inclusion and trust. The key aim for rehabilitation is to avoid negative outputs of resettlement.

3.3.1 Risks and reconstruction

Direct and indirect impacts of relocation are many. Cernea (2000) has designed an Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction (IRR) model, a widely acknowledged framework for planners, policy-makers and social scientists to apply in case of displacements, be it disaster or development induced. This tool considers *landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity, education loss, loss of access to common property resources* and *social disarticulation* to be serious risks to involuntarily displaced people (figure 5). It also states that each risk also influences another; joblessness causes homelessness, which causes marginalization, and so on. All these risks and their causalities need to be acknowledged and considered in practice in order for the resettlers to reconstruct their everyday life in the new areas (ibid.). These strategies are found by responding to each impact and turning the model on its head. For example, joblessness should

be overwritten with reemployment and marginalization with social inclusion (Cernea 2000: 20). IRR model is widely used in social sciences and in studying the impacts of resettlement (see e.g. Bang & Few 2012).

Landlessness is the most severe risk to those whose livelihoods depend on it, often rural agrarian communities (Nayak 2000). On the other hand, in urban environments the risk for evictions in unauthorized land is significant especially in the political and economic atmosphere that encourages urban renewal processes, and where land value is high. The loss of land has foremost economic impacts, but also political and ecological consequences depending on the context (Nayak 2000: 88). Furthermore, loss of land affects to people's mindset and identity. Involvement and attachments to land also reflect to the ways in which compensation is perceived and utilized. Compensation measures include land for land, cash for land and employment for land (Nayak 2000: 85–87). However, the quality of compensation always needs careful revision, as it should meet the needs of people and imitate original conditions. It is not only the loss of physical land, but also of one's origins (Nayak 2000: 96). According to the World Bank (2004: 35–36), there are different forms of tenure; aside from conventional ownership, especially in the urban areas dwellers might have a lease on government land. The quality of ownership can have an impact to the ways in which tenants are treated legally, and socially. Of course, uncontrollable urbanization and no access

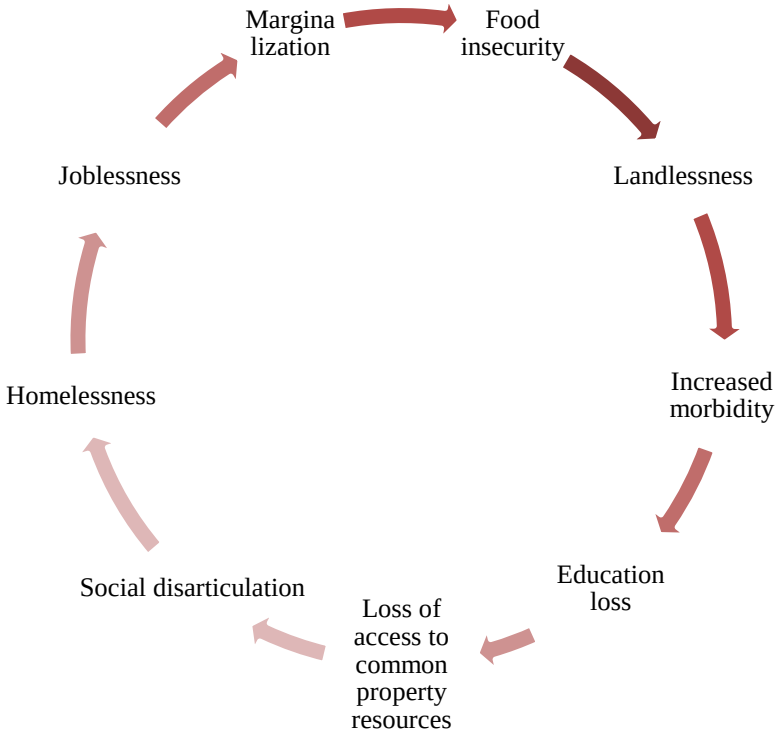

Figure 5 Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction model (Cernea 2000).

to markets cause also illegal occupation of land in large scale. Consequently, these forms of tenure imply three groups of people; i) those who have formal legal entitlement to land, ii) those who do not have the formal right per se but have the land or assets that proof ownership, and are therefore recognized under law, iii) those who do not have formal legal rights to the land they are occupying (World Bank 2004: 35–36). For the latter group, *insecure tenure* is a constant threat, especially in unauthorized slums, increasing the risk of forced displacement. Occasionally, neither a lease contract nor ownership deed are sufficient in terms of access to services.

Involuntary displacement causes a high risk for economic deprivation (Mejía 2000). This is then a further risk to, for example, food insecurity. Loss of land can mean loss of crop production, a significant livelihood strategy for many urban poor. In displaced communities, such as underserved settlements, economic factors should be thoroughly considered. Displacement means not only the loss of physical home but often also livelihood strategies (ibid.). The risk is highest in communities that depend on common property resources (Fernandes 2000: 210). In urban environments, livelihood strategies are usually more heterogeneous, but planners should then consider commuting distance and time, as well as public spaces for informal economies (Reddy 2000). Not only adequate compensation is enough to ensure sustainable resettlement, but also technical and structural assistance is needed in order to adapt to the changes. The support in maintaining old jobs is essential too. Additionally, a large scale of alternatives for livelihood strategies as well as the ability to change jobs seem to bring positive outcomes (Mejía 2000; Sorensen 2000: 197). Low level of education or lack of sense of community can prevent the capacity to reorganize, as many poor communities are highly depend on social support and networks. It is crucial to underline that ways to scale up and improve livelihoods should be a standardized objective of resettlement projects, and participatory approaches and planning can help to achieve this. However, it is still common that resettlement projects lack the understanding of the indirect consequences that stem from economic deprivation, and thus also recovery measures can remain inadequate.

Many studies have shown that slum dwellers, and poor communities in general, are dependent on social capital, e.g. networks and community participation, as a response to the lack of established public assistance and services from the city (Matous & Ozawa 2010). For women, these networks are a lifeline, providing financial assistance and help in daily tasks. In many developing countries, corruption is vast at the top-level formal institutions, while grassroots'

and informal systems provide necessary services and support for the less well off (Narayan-Parker 1999: 32). Social interaction and informal economies form the basis of daily activities and survival strategies in many underserved settlements. However, strong social capital also requires mutual understanding of values and norms of life, and collides of such can cause segregation and/or conflicts (ibid.). Due to displacement, these networks are easily disrupted, and reformation can be challenging in a new environment.

Social marginalization, a common consequence of displacement and impoverishment, is often linked to economic loss in resettlement (Fernandes 2000). The loss of access to resources and infrastructure that would prevent impoverishment also means that displaced people lose the abilities to restore their lives, and therefore the capacity to improve their lifestyles (ibid.). However, marginalization is also a psychological phenomenon that is enforced when the lowest sector of the society is countered with the powerful margin in public (ibid.). This triggers a crisis of identity and subordination, a mindset that is easily normatized and can have physical outcomes. Furthermore, social exclusion can have many direct and indirect consequences. Ignorance by authorities and therefore services, physical lack of access, exclusive policies, targeted subordination or strong social stigma are common (Narayan-Parker 1999: 4). Exclusion can be policy-driven, but it can also be simultaneous; the poor do not have extra to spare on the services and opportunities the city has to offer, and will therefore stay in their own areas. Also, communities identified with exclusion can easily form an oppositional culture of disobedience, leading to drug use and other illegalities. As other issues increase, also opposition to norms increases (ibid.). Exclusive urban policies and public confrontation of people create lack of trust and physical segregation (UN-Habitat 2003b: 75–77). Exclusion endangers the capabilities to social participation and expression of opinions, and threatens the ability for the poor to take ownership for their lives and development. This is crucial in pursuing general social development as well (Hickey & Mohan 2004), let alone in the context of recovering from displacement. Reducing social exclusion also minimizes social deprivation and issues stemming from it (UN-Habitat 1996).

Despite its thorough analysis of displacement consequences, IRR has also been criticized for perceiving communities homogenous, and undermining the complex knowledge systems in them (Mehta 2009: 8). Furthermore, it is challenging to try to specify particular variables that should always be included in project planning, as each case is different. Generally, it could be stated, that besides physical property, people also need ownership to land and social development. These are, however, also gender-related issues, something that IRR does not

consider. Additionally, cultural and social norms and habits need to be addressed, as they have major impacts in rehabilitation. From a geographical perspective, IRR does not consider the sense of place, its formation, destruction and impacts for resettlement and rehabilitation processes. Furthermore, the model is not feasible if the issues causing poverty, insecurity, health hazards and social exclusion in the first place are not tackled profoundly (Koening 2006: 106). In this case study context the IRR is not entirely suitable analysis tool, as it also ignores the risk for environmental degradation. Being a common issue in underserved settlements, it cannot be fought even after displacement if the sense of community is lacking and support for rehabilitation inadequate.

3.3.2 The importance of homemaking and tenure

Nowadays, planners and politicians have started to realize that sustainable resettlement requires more than only physical structures (Patel & Mandhyan 2014). A legitimized ownership of property and land can protect slum dwellers from urban displacements, or at least improve the extent of compensation and social status. The security of tenure refers to also long-term lease contracts or, for example, subsidized low-income renting, and it is necessary to note that also these other forms of legitimized occupation give similar benefits to full ownership. Of course, full ownership would be the best solution for the poor but it is often out of reach of people in dense urban areas. Nyametso says that the rationale behind the provision of tenure is to encourage people to invest into land and property (2012: 347). This can mean simply building another floor or maintaining the immediate environment. Archer (2012) presents a case study from Bangkok, where several slums were upgraded and citizens given legal entitlement to housing and land. The positive outcome seems to be, indeed, increased security and improved social status. So, there are variations in procedures, but against the backdrop of illegal occupation, they all provide more protection than unauthorized living arrangements. Furthermore, government approved status as a law-binding citizen allows many slum dwellers access to formal services; lending institutions, better schools and such (Shrestra 2013). Nyametso continues by saying that the concept is not limited to only formal rights and individual perceptions, but also to the ways in which other people in the society perceive them (2012: 345). This aspect might actually be even more important than the direct security in itself (ibid.). Security of tenure gives freedom to invest into housing, and thus contributes to poverty alleviation (Nyametso 2012; Shrestra 2013). On the other hand, Mukhija (2001) says slum dwellers might not actually be interested in the social status or legalized security the ownership/lease provides against evictions, but the increased value of

land and property that leads into households' economic gains. He also claims that tenure alone cannot solve the impoverishment issue, but that physical infrastructure actually plays a critical role in the dwellers perceptions of a good residential area. As an addition to these, it could be argued that in underserved settlements the immediate needs are most pressing, and therefore access to services, jobs, social networks and schools can invalidate the statements about economic gains. Despite being a topic of debate, studies show that the quality of living has improved and threat of eviction eliminated due to secured tenure (Archer 2012). Residents in entitled houses also encounter less health hazards and are better educated (Nyametso 2012). However, the consequences are not always straightforward. For example, the compensation is often too little to finish the houses, forcing many to take loans or leave structures unfinished (Archer 2014: 180). Debt burden is common in upgraded slums where expenses multiply suddenly, and some citizens might actually oppose this referring to their previous life situation where monthly payments did not exist (ibid.). Secure tenure is not attractive enough if distance to work and services increase, generating extra costs (Nyametso 2012: 353). Leases might also be given only for a certain time period, not infinitely. This causes a limbo-situation, where tenure is not in fact secured. In the Bangkok situation, many inhabitants actually would have wanted to move elsewhere, but due to restrictions in the lease contract, they could not do so (Archer 2014). Despite the downsides, when done properly, security of tenure is understood to be a crucial element in resettlement processes, no matter development-induced or disaster-induced.

3.3.3 Sustainable strategies for slums?

Slums create massive challenges to local governments. They are the outcome of failed urban politics, misdirected resources, corruption and lack of proper laws and delivery systems (UN-Habitat 2003). Fundamentally, after all, they are the output of lack of will and good governance to provide structurally, sustainably and fundamentally better housing and public services to all citizens despite their income level, ethnic background, social status or other prejudiced features. While confronting multiple overlapping issues and unpredictable complexities, city authorities should also try to consider the future and emphasis prevention, as urbanization in the Global South is predicted to continue up until at least 2030's (UN-Habitat 2003). Globally, there are several ways in urban planning policies to deal with the urbanization-inequality nexus, of which some are more sustainable than others. Generally, strategies have improved in time (Shrestra 2013). Common approaches include benign neglect or ignorance, forced evictions or demolitions, relocation, slum upgrading, and enabling

strategies (Arimah 2010: 144–145). One of the most cost-efficient ways of upgrading is to assist residents to do these improvements themselves (UN-Habitat 2003: 127). Those adopted recently offer, so far, the best tools to avoid further impoverishment of displaced people. Today, many approaches can also be a mixture of methods. Despite the fact that certain approaches have been found to be more effective than forced displacements, strategies for slums are foremost a question of resources and political will. Therefore procedures still vary globally, and even nationally.

National *slum upgrading* programmes started in the 1970s and 1980s with the financial assistance from the World Bank as a result of evident failure in the previous approaches (Patel 2013; Arimah 2010). The fundamental idea of the proliferation strategy is to provide improved services into existing settlements and by upgrading the physical structures as well as community services in the target area. These could be for example improved sanitation, waste collection, drainage and sewage systems, street lightning, playgrounds, market places, community centers, and health clinics (Arimah 2010). Jones (2012) suggests that slums should be made profitable by upgrading them, so that they would naturally attract investments, gentrification and wealth. Compared to relocation, here people can maintain current social networks, relations and means of livelihood, which are essential survival strategies for many poor (Patel 2013). Nijman (2008) also claims that a new wave of neoliberal approaches can bring positive outcomes. These arguments are worth criticizing as the neoliberal perspective to upgrading slums can also end up in social and economic exclusion, displacements and haphazard unsustainable and non-participatory gentrification of underserved settlements without fundamentally tackling the poverty issue. So, paradoxically the impacts would be the ones that were primarily tried to avoid. Examples in India show that several attempts in slum upgrading have ended up in on-site relocation and demolitions, and construction of new public housing (ibid.). This is not ideal, when existing structures could be uplifted and provided with the services needed. Patel claims that such programmes in the Indian context are only old approaches re-labeled. Also Arimah (2010) says upgrading programmes often lack required investments, follow-up and maintenance of services, lack of ownership and thus willingness to pay for new services, and fundamental attempts to solve poverty and inequality issues and their primary reasons.

Enabling approach is an integrative and participatory way of perceiving the strategic framework for slums. The UN-Habitat report in 1996 addresses that cities can be improved and poverty tackled by emphasizing the role of good and responsible governance. This means

including citizens in the planning processes, and providing quality services with low cost, regardless of one's social status or income level. Poor suburbs are easily blackened in urban planning and politics, which means problems remain unsolved. Urban areas attract wealth, finance and investments, and therefore accountable governance is necessary in distributing the goods and making most out of the outputs of growth (ibid.). Also Patel (2013) addresses the need to engage the citizens into planning processes, the use of participatory methods and needs assessments, and the support to community organizations. Decentralization of slum upgrading and community-led development are slowly challenging conventional neoliberal approaches on overcoming slums (Nijman 2008). Once residents are actively participating in the process from start to finish, and are given ownership on decision-making, successful resettlement is possible (Cronin & Guthrie 2011). This requires extra resources; time, financing and administration, but often delivers more sustainable outcomes and less resistance. However, it is important to notice that such strategy will not work without strong social networks and cohesion of norms and values.

UN-Habitat has presented some options for financing better urban shelter for slum dwellers, and thus contribute to poverty alleviation (2005). First, conventional mortgage finance should be made available also for the poor. Today, it is mainly targeted for middle- and upper class people. Reducing the costs via lower interest rates and better secondary markets would open better access to finance for larger groups of people. Second, state-provided subsidized social housing is important to those who cannot access lending markets. However, also this should be made more accessible with reducing interests and other costs, and should simultaneously support the structures that help people to access privately owned housing. Third, microfinance for shelter is often the most accessible option for the urban poor. It means they can construct in stages as finance becomes available. This includes many risks; high maintenance costs because of failed construction, high interest rates in informal markets, and long periods in between construction force people to live crowded and without all necessary assets. As it is, still, the best way to reach people down on the income scale, microfinance should be made less risky and more common. Fourth, a community-based shelter funds could be an option in providing housing and slum upgrading in urban substandard settlements. It is a way of improving the community in a larger scale instead of single dwellings. It relies on the thought of people working together (usually in community-based organizations, CBOs) towards a common goal and thus improves community dialogue and empowerment. Community-based shelter funds could be used, for example, in maintaining the environment or constructing

public places. This latter approach relies heavily on the assumption that people in a certain settlement can cooperate and have strong social ties, something that is not straightforward in a displacement situation.

3.4 Gender perspective in resettlement

The analysis on the nexus of gender and displacements is scarce, yet gender is a significant determinant in displacements, resettlement and their implications (Mathur 2009; 167). The emphasis on the importance of gender analysis in all development measures is undeniable and present in the current global development agenda, and therefore it is also extensively underlined in this study. In the context of displacement, women face a double bind. Because of their gender, they are continuously subordinated by men. Secondly, the state enforces this bias by accepting and reconstructing the understanding of a male-lead society (Mehta 2009: 5). It would be relevant to add that a third bind comes from the fact that living in an underserved settlement, women's status is even more depreciated. Hutton and Haque note that gender is a relevant factor also when looking at natural disasters and post-disaster coping, as women are most vulnerable also then (2004: 50). On the other hand, displacements can cause restructuring of conventional social relations and norms, and thus also change the perception on gender roles. It is necessary to keep in mind that displaced women are neither homogeneous entity nor a passive victimized group, but can actually benefit from such processes (Mehta 2009: 8). Similarly, households should not be perceived as united units that share similar values, interests and opinions. This is also a reason why this study focuses on women and tries to reveal the unheard narratives of resettlements. Gender analysis in resettlement studies and policies is necessary in order to avoid further misery (Mehta 2009).

Women face several burdens in an instance of displacement in developing countries. Gender-biased resettlement planning often enforces these burdens (Mathur 2009). In underserved settlements, many women take part in informal business or cultivate small home gardens, and income generation takes place close to home. In case of displacement or resettlement, these livelihoods can be lost. Mathur says that the loss of traditional sources of income might push women to enter low-paid labor markets (2009: 168). These concerns reflect to the ability of taking care of the household and feeding children, tasks that are traditionally entitled to women. Economic vulnerability increases dependency on the husband or relatives (ibid.). It could be argued that the loss of home – a gendered space in patriarchal cultures – reflects to the women's identity, sense of place and the loss of something personal. Economic

deprivation can also reflect to the social status of women and access to decision-making. They are also more vulnerable because they are often depending on the social assistance provided by neighbors and kin, networks that are lost in involuntary displacement. Frustration and humiliation experienced by men can appear as violence at home. Sambisa et al. (2011) argue that violence against women is more common in underserved settlements than elsewhere, and is also an economic hardship. Alcoholism and drugs are also associated with resettlement (ibid.). Finally, land and property ownership are often biased against women, which can cause further impoverishment (Mehta 2009: 15–18). Practices and laws on land ownership are abundant, but generally they exploit the poor and women. For example in Sub-Saharan Africa, women own only 2–3 percent of all land (UN-Habitat 2012: 42). Biased land laws can prevent women from buying, investing and inheriting, and increase the risk for impoverishment. Land, be it ownership, use or access to it, is a precondition for access to services and livelihood opportunities, and effectively diminishes poverty (Shrestra 2013).

Community-based employment, such as crop production, can help women to reorganize and gain additional income (Sorensen 2000: 193). However, in urban environments, income sources vary and the informal economy is scattered to different sectors. Also, there are fewer chances to utilize common property resources. Furthermore, conventional gender roles can prevent such livelihood strategies, and therefore women remain unemployed. The provision of sustainable livelihood strategies and equal legal status would be great investments in terms of gender-based impacts of displacement. Fortunately, many international agencies have started to integrate sustainable gender-analysis into planning and implementation (Mathur 2009: 182–191). For example Asian Development Bank (ADB), financing many development and infrastructure projects, has included gender checklist into their work. The key is to involve the women into the process throughout planning, implementation and follow-up, and establish participatory methods accessible to all project affected persons. Mathur says gender should be regarded in all households, not only female-headed families. Similarly, legal aspects should preclude gender and acknowledge the impacts of joint ownership, equal inheritance and compensation measures. Furthermore, as the adverse risks for women have been analyzed by several academics, the implementing parties should address these, and consult the target groups regarding physical assets, environment, social networks and kinships, as well as livelihood strategies. The existing policy guidelines provide beneficial tools to make displacement less harmful, but eventually are still in the use of only few projects. Gender sensitive resettlement planning is not commonly considered, as the materialization of even

general participatory strategies is scarce. Furthermore, international frameworks and recommendations are often overlooked in the national context, as they do not have a high level of legitimacy (Clark 2009: 218).

4 The Sri Lankan context

Sri Lanka is a country of various ethnicities, religions and socio-economical features. Despite of its compact size, the country holds diverse spheres of life, and a stronger pursue of some of them have also caused bitter outcomes. Distrust and ethnic and social tensions have burst out as insurgencies, violent acts towards civilians and civil war in 1983–2009. Even though now peaceful and flourishing, socio-economic and regional inequalities and diverse realities are still evident in Sri Lanka. The historical context along with the everyday realities of inequality are manifested in various ways, one of them being involuntary displacements and resettlement of marginalized poor people without the consideration of their everyday life and the spaces and places where lives can be restored and reconstructed again (see e.g. Ruwanpura 2009).

The Western province and CMR in particular are performing well in terms of economic development, and investments and wellbeing in the country are much linked to this area. On the other hand, statistics overlook the fact that urban poverty and deprivation in the proximity of the capital are common, and are occasionally blackened from the public national debate. Urban poverty in Sri Lankan cities is the outcome of lack of access to employment, lack of adequate housing, health and educational services and national social protection (Hettige 2004). The inadequate provision of these basic needs causes cumulative deprivation. Consequently, economic growth and its gains have not trickled down to the poor, and the income gap between the wealthy and the poor is expanding especially in the capital (ibid.). As the limited physical space in CMR causes urban sprawl, social contestation is evident in heterogeneous neighborhoods (ibid.). An interesting feature of CMR slums is that unlike underserved settlements globally, they are scattered small communities around the metropolitan area with lack of basic service provision (CPA 2014). Moreover, as most economic activities in the country are concentrated in CMR, rural-urban migration is strongly centralized there. To release prime land for investors and to provide improved housing for the urban poor, urban resettlement projects in Colombo are publically justified with greater economic gains (Daily Mirror 2013).

4.1 Background on urban development in Colombo Metro Region

By Independence in 1948, Colombo had evolved into a garden city of South Asia by its British rulers (Dayaratne 2010: 222). The city was dotted with spacious residential areas for the wealthy, while many poor labor workers settled in central city areas in the proximity of warehouses, factories and the port (UN-Habitat 2003b: 208). Urbanization in Sri Lanka started booming 1977 after trade liberalization, as investors began to develop Colombo, attracting white-collar jobs and increasing demand for land and housing in the city (van Horen 2002). This led to rocketing prices of land, which eventually fragmented and scattered the original peri-urban village societies and lifestyles. Also, the increasing middle class started to demand affordable housing close to the city, entering the former villages in the immediate proximity to Colombo and transforming them into suburban extensions of the capital (Dayarathne & Samarawickrama 2003: 102–103).

Throughout the 20th century several master plans has been adopted but which then have failed, and no distinctive planning paper for the city has been able to lead the way for upcoming developments. Altogether there have been five master plans for CMC or CMR from 1921 until 1996 (Dayaratne 2010: 223-224). Also many frameworks to provide better shelter for the slum dwellers have been initiated, such as the Million Houses Programme, Participatory Urban Development and Community Action Planning and Sustainable Townships Programme (STP). By the late 1980's, large public housing programmes under National Housing Development Authority (NHDA) have been able to provide up to 1.5 million units of housing to slum dwellers (Hettige 2004: 10). In 1998, STP identified 66,000 underserved households in Colombo of which 86% lived on state land. Recently, these households have been under Urban Development Authority (UDA) development plans (Daily Mirror 2013). UDA is supervised by the Ministry of Defence and Urban Development. The accelerating urban sprawl and the extensions of underserved settlements have only recently caught the attention of authorities (Dayarathna & Samarawickrama 2003: 110).

Despite a lot of progress, slum upgrading has been stagnant since 1990's (Dayaratne 2010: 4). It has also been incapable of addressing the need for public spaces, social inclusion, access to recreation, and supportive environment and assets to establish new communities from scratch (Hettige 2004). Moreover, the programmes have not been able to take into account the need for livelihood restoration. So far, the inability to develop low-income housing in CMR has reflected to the lack of capability in the respective authorities, mainly UDA

(Dayaratne 2010). However in 2010, President Mahinda Rajapaksa launched a new Urban Vision for the country's future, CMR being in the centre of this paper for action (Department of National Planning 2010). The plan aims to massively improve infrastructure and evolve agri- and textile industries in order to lift Sri Lanka into the group of upper middle class countries by no sooner than 2020. This will also be achieved by renewing the spatial demographics of the country and by moving rural people to new urban centers. The Vision also includes the objective of providing proper shelter to all by 2020. It is an ambitious target with the aim to relocate 66,000 households in CMC alone (Daily Mirror 2013). The same trend continuing in the paper, Colombo area and the Western province have always been the main draws for economic and institutional development at the expense of the rest of the country (Dayaratne 2010: 225). So far many improvements encouraged in the Vision have been physical, yet institutional development is what is needed in order to achieve sustainable and inclusive development (World Bank & UN-Habitat 2012).

4.2 Displacement processes in Sri Lanka

Despite the latest urbanization trends and plans, Sri Lanka remains a rural country where community-centered lifestyle and land ownership are valued (Dayaratne & Samarawickrama 2003). Communities are perceived to share culturally common interests, values and understandings of the proper way of life, and households are supposed to fit into that shared vision (Kottegoda 2004). The social connotations to place and land are strong especially when considering the insiders (*game minissu*) and outsiders (*pitagamkarayas*) of a society, and the sense of belonging. This means that newcomers are easily excluded as they, assumingly, do not share the similar identity, values and culture as the original inhabitants (Dayaratne & Samarawickrama 2003). In Sri Lanka, the strong attachments to place that have been developed throughout time from social interactions and ancestral connections are under threat in displacement processes, which in the recent years have been abundant. The reconstructed spaces and lifestyles have caused disarticulation between groups, providing breeding ground for further social problems (ibid.). This similar risk is evident also in the urban context, where attachments to place and the role of insiders and outsiders are constantly renegotiated as an outcome of several resettlement processes.

4.2.1 Disaster-induced displacements in Sri Lanka

The most frequent natural disasters in Sri Lanka are floods, droughts, landslides, cyclones, epidemia, and soil erosion (Zubair et al. 2006). Still, they are not closely as hazardous as the

Boxing Day tsunami 2006 and the civil war 1983–2009 in terms of human casualties and displaced people (ibid.).

In 2004 Sri Lanka was in the midst of a decades-long civil war that had forced thousands of people in the North and East homeless and landless in the fear of violence that took place between the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of the Tamil Eelam, a separatist movement aiming for independency of Tamil state in Sri Lanka) and the Sri Lankan government (GoSL). In the middle of these struggles, the Indian Ocean tsunami hit Sri Lanka with a massive force, killing approximately 36,000 people and leaving some 500,000 homeless (Blaikie 2009). The tsunami hit 70% of the island's coastline, being deadliest in the war-torn areas where assistance and aid did not reach as quickly (Rathnasooriya et al. 2007). Adding up to this, in 2009 UNICEF estimated that the 27-year long war had displaced at least 430,000 people. Displacement and deprivation during the war, especially in the northeastern parts of the country, was largely ignored in the public debates as it contained evident connotations to the regionally linked insurgency of LTTE. The misery and uprooting in the North was not in the interests of the ethno-nationalist public discourse dominating in the southwestern Sri Lanka (Ruwanpura 2009: 436). As the tsunami in 2004 affected many Sinhalese communities also in the South and West, displacement became firmly integrated into the national psyche and could no longer be overlooked (ibid.). Despite obscurities in figures especially in the northeast, in 2009 and 2010 Sri Lanka was one of the top-countries in Asia with disasters largest in scale in terms of numbers of people displaced (IFRC 2012: 16). The Boxing Day tsunami is also the worst natural disaster ever facing the country, affecting approximately 5 per cent of the total population (UNDP 2012).

The tsunami response cannot be evaluated without the understanding of the wider spatio-political context in the country, that being the ethnic conflict. Foreign humanitarian assistance in Sri Lanka was abundant, but it was closely regulated, and thus the northeastern parts received notably less assistance (Blaikie 2009). Despite of this, many international agencies participated in extensive post-disaster assistance, including resettlement and housing schemes. Altogether permanent housing constructed with international funding was about 30,000 units, and temporary shelter even more (ibid.). International humanitarian aid has been criticized for the lack of coordination and understanding of the socio-cultural features that significantly effect to the outcome of rehabilitation projects (Pellinen 2012). In the public discourse, aid workers are often called 'the second tsunami'. Donor-driven housing that lacks participatory planning with the residents was common among international agencies during

tsunami rehabilitation (Blaikie 2009). It has also been evidenced that in many instances the everyday realities of the affected communities were not considered and the significance of local social and political relations and norms were ignored, which caused severe disarticulation (Ruwanpura 2009).

The absence of gender analysis and gender-specific responses in post-disaster resettlement processes has been largely criticized and is analyzed to be among the major reasons for further impoverishment there (Caron 2009). As with the tsunami, it has been acknowledged that women's responses differ from that of the men's, but that they should not be perceived as mere victims of the disaster, but also an active group in rehabilitation (Perera-Mubarak 2013). Despite of significant gendered negative impacts, the women in Sri Lanka have also been praised for being active in tsunami recovery, which has also downplayed the negative consequences. Overall, there seems to be four coping methods assessed for women during and after disaster: mobilizing social networks, care work, economic activities, and joining community-based organizations (CBOs). These daily activities in the context of resettlement and reconstruction of sense of place(s) support the feminist approach in looking issues from 'daily life' spectrum.

4.2.2 Development-induced displacements in Sri Lanka

The history of development-induced displacements in Sri Lanka starts from rural development projects, namely the set of Mahaweli hydropower projects from the 1960's until 1980's. These developments have been the most massive in the Sri Lankan history, displacing 125,000 families and providing irrigation in a 144,000 ha area (Perera & Sennema 2002). Since then, development-induced displacements have become more common also in urban areas, namely Colombo and its neighboring municipalities. The Southern highway infrastructure project relocated more than 1,300 families in 2006–2011 (Jayawardena 2011).

Until 1976 the Housing and Town Improvement Ordinance used slum demolitions as a way to manage underserved settlements and restrict their growth. After that date the Urban Development Authority Law made an effort to proceed by improving the shanties instead of eradicating them, later as a part of the Million Housing Programme (MPH), which was established in 1984. Along with this the CMC founded community development councils (CDC) to work on issues such as health, sanitation and environment improvement in the grass root level. Their work would later on extend into providing alternative housing for low-income communities not only in Colombo and peri-urban areas, but also in rural areas of the

Western province. At this stage, CDC's work was renamed as Housing and Community Development Programme (Dayarathne & Samarawickrama 2003: 105–106). Sahaspura was the first low-income high-rise housing project in Sri Lanka completed in 2001. It is also the first big-in-scale urban development-induced displacement project.

Today, more high-rise housing projects are in the pipeline, as in CMC alone 66,000 households need to be provided with alternative housing as a compensation for demolishing the old ones. Urban Regeneration Programme (URP) is the executive agent behind the 'slum-free Colombo' rhetoric, but the detailed plan of actions remains unpublished (CPA 2014). Civil society organizations fear that the total number of displaced can end up as high as 500,000 people (ibid.). URP is seen to work controversially against national housing policies (ibid.). Orjuela claims that the discourse of securing the nation and strong authoritarianism is linked to urban regeneration plans and slum demolitions (2010).

4.3 Gendered Sri Lanka

The concept of a household is usually defined by residence, kinship or economic activities (Kottegoda 2004: 21–27). This means that it is the physical structure, the relationships between people or the income earning and sharing activities that characterize a household. In Sri Lanka, extended households are common due to complex marriage patterns, and they are thus foremost characterized by kin relations. This means that the household is not only sharing a space or finances but also other activities and norms. In Sri Lanka, household is defined as follows: "The household consists of one or more persons, living together and having common arrangements for food and other essentials of living. They may be related or unrelated persons or a combination of both. They are, however, expected to pool their incomes and have a common budget to some extent if not totally… Persons who usually live here but are temporarily away should be included as members of the household" (Ministry of Plan Implementation in 1987 cited in Kottegoda 2004: 22). This understanding of a one-minded social unit that distinguishes no individuals reproduces the assumption that gender roles prevail in Sri Lanka, especially in the context of conservative and often poor households.

Compared to its neighboring countries, Sri Lanka performs well in terms of gender and human development. For example, access to education is equal, and today women dominate in higher education institutions (UNDP 2012). Also matrilineal inheritance patterns and property rights are praised by feminist economists (Ruwanpura 2006: 1). Female-headed households represent some 23,4 percent of all households, making female-headship no longer an oddity.

However, Ruwanpura says that women's conservative roles as ideal mothers and nurturers, reproducing nationalism and patriarchal social structures, "cut across ethnicity and religion" (2006: 7). Kottegoda continues by saying that in poor conditions, household survival is traditionally a woman's responsibility (2004: 2–3). This reflects to the division of labor common in the Sri Lankan society; while the male is the household head and main income earner, the female is in charge of household duties and feeding the family. In fact, the large number of female-headed households is the outcome of the civil war, natural disasters and out-migration, not liberal social norms of family life. Located in the midst of such neighboring countries, generally statistics of Sri Lanka look admiring. However, when looking globally, it scores rather poorly in the international Gender Inequality Index (GII) with 0,565 (on a scale from 0 to 1, 0 meaning no inequality) in 2011 (UNDP 2012). This is reasoned by the 'no-show' of women in higher political positions, and gender-bias in the executive levels of institutions. Thus, gender-based distribution of labor and conventional gender roles enforce the silenced materializations of inequality. Also gender-based violence in the country is common and rather accepted (UNDP 2012: 46). Ruwanpura criticizes the assumptions of a 'feminist nirvana', and presents a case study that unravels the male-centered understandings of the society (2006). She says households in Sri Lanka are often perceived as unambiguous units, ignoring gender among other factors that affect the social, political and cultural understandings and opinions. This simplified perception of a household is also criticized by Mehta in the context of displacements and gender (2009: 8). The established yet silenced gendered subordination prevents women from knowing and demanding their rights, and simultaneously reconstructs the existing patriarchal society (Kottegoda 2004: 246).

Sri Lanka has a complex legal system that is comprised of various historical and contemporary laws. Generally the inheritance patterns, which also include the distribution of land and property, favor women (Jayatilaka & Amirthalingam 2015). The implementation of laws can be dependent on the ethnicity, religion or inheritance under certain families. Also the land ownership and inheritance patterns in Sri Lanka vary according to the law in question. The Land Development Ordnance (LDO) from 1935 is gender neutral but its implementation has generally favored men. About 30 per cent of women in Sri Lanka own property, more often only the house instead of both house and land. The inheritance of land and property is also reflective to the type of marriage pattern applied; *binna* marriage is matrilocal while *diga* marriage is patrilocal. Generally, there is no straightforward pattern in how and when women

can inherit, but it is highly dependent on the applicable laws, ethnicity, religion and location as well as marriage patterns. (Scalise 2009: 64–70)

4.4 Description of the case study

Dehiwala – Mt. Lavinia is a big municipality next to CMC. In 2001, at the time of the latest census, it held population of 209,787 in a 2109 ha area. There has been a 0,9 per cent growth in population from 1994 until 2001, but projections indicate that there will be a decline in the future due to high land values, lack of appropriate land and inadequate infrastructure. What is more, the municipality is under a heavy population stress because large areas of land are allocated for Ratmalana airport and industrial use, declining residential areas more than figures can tell. Service culture and heavy transport make the atmosphere intense. Geographically, the area is flat with low elevation from the sea level, and holding two big water bodies: Weras Ganga and Bolgoda Lake. There is a lot of marshland in the area. Western coast of Sri Lanka is wetland, receiving rainfall between 2000 and 3000 mm, mainly during monsoon and inter-monsoon seasons. Additionally, the municipality is characterized by the southern railway line along the beach, heavily used Galle road, and dense housing with suburban features. Many underserved settlements in the municipality are located close to the railway line and industrial areas. The proximity of Colombo city is evident also in services and industries. (UN-Habitat 2003a)

Moratuwa Municipal Council is a rather densely populated municipal council just outside CMR, south of Dehiwala – Mt. Lavinia. Already in the 1948 Abercombie Plan, Moratuwa was included to be one of the dominant satellite cities to encourage further growth and inclusion of the metropolitan area. Urban sprawl is common here, as population growth has been massive in the last few decades. In 1981 the growth rate was 4,0 per annum, yet it has stabilized to 2,5 in 2002. Based on latest census in 2001, the population of the municipality lies at 170,190 on a 23,6 sq. km area. Population growth is mainly due to migrant workers and city expansion. The municipality adjoins Ratmalana industrial area, yet also carpentry and fisheries are common means of livelihood. University of Moratuwa is also located here. Likewise, Moratuwa stretches along the coast and southern railway line, and the landscape is flat and characterized by big water bodies such as the Lunawa Lake, Weras Ganga and Bolgoda Lake. Underserved settlements in the municipality are scattered and small, most of them located on the beach strip. (UNDP & UN-Habitat 2002).

Spacious living is typical in peri-urban and rural areas of Sri Lanka; dwellings can be small but big plots with gardens are valued nonetheless. Also upper-middle class urban settlements are traditionally loosely built. This lifestyle structure, where close networks to kin and neighbors are significant and village-centered mode of life valued, but nonetheless acknowledges household space and privacy, is continuously confronted in urban substandard settlements, high rise apartment housing schemes, and densely built resettlement areas.

4.4.1 Lunawa Environmental Improvement & Community Development Project (LEI&CDP)

Since 1990's sustainable development has served as the driving paradigm for global development policies. It has also been adopted to urban development, but with very little understanding of the social inclusiveness that should be covered along with environmental and economic sustainability (Atkinson 2004). Sustainable development has also translated rather poorly into urban poverty eradication measures as the environmentalist aspect of it has dominated (ibid.). That said, also urban relocation and displacement projects have been justified with environmentalist arguments. In Lunawa, this was also the case (UN-Habitat 2009).

Lunawa Environmental Improvement & Community Development Project was financed by the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA). The loan agreement with the Sri Lankan government was made in 2001, the project beginning in 2002 and running until 2009. LEI&CDP was implemented by Sri Lankan urban authorities (UDA) with the consultancy assistance from UN-Habitat, JICA volunteers and other local NGOs. The project area covers the Lunawa Lake catchment area, 6,51 km^2 in total. The total population in the catchment area is estimated to be 85,000 people, or 18,000 households. The project area borders with Galle road in the East and seashore in the West (see figure 6). Before LEI&CDP, flooding in residential areas in Moratuwa and Dehiwala – Mt. Lavinia was common because of low elevation, closeness of the sea, inadequate rainwater harvesting and low capacity water infrastructure. Housing was dense and infrastructure inadequate to meet the needs of the people. There were shanties and squatters, but also upper middle class housing in the area. Due to lack of solid waste management, dirt was blocking the drains and polluting waterways. Stagnant water was a breeding ground for mosquitoes carrying diseases. Multiple industries in the area contributed to the pollution of the canals, severely degrading the environment. Frequent floods occurred four to six times a year, being hazardous because of the pollution. Lunawa Lake was declared biologically dead and could not provide for fisheries industry. The project aim was to improve the quality of life of people with the technical solutions to

environment and participatory approach to social development (UN-Habitat 2002; 2003a; 2009). Such environmental problems are typical in informal slum settlements (Canares 2012: 322–324; UN-Habitat 2003b: 69).

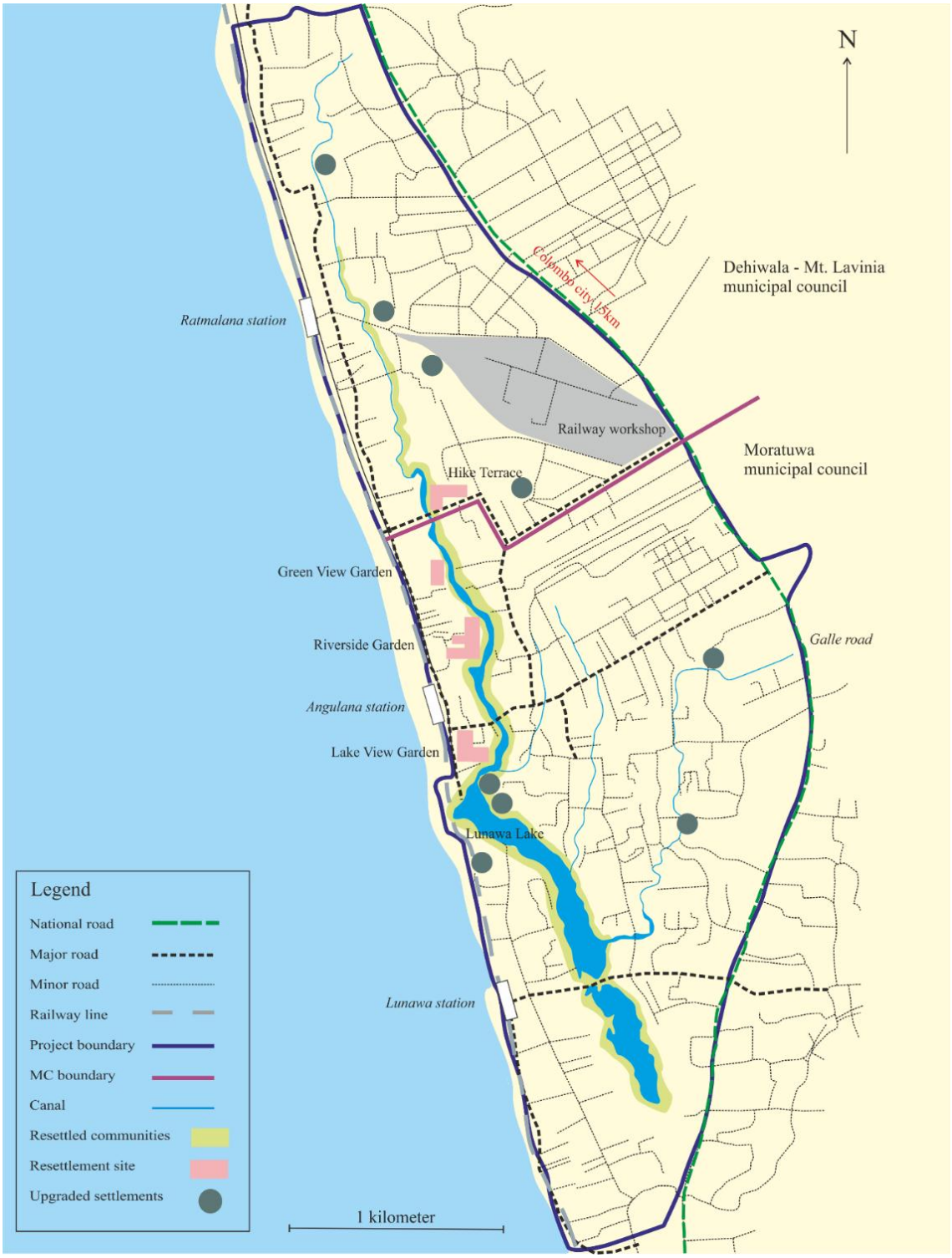

Figure 6 LEI&CDP project area and resettlement housing locations.

Table 1 Components and activities in LEI&CDP.

LEI&CDP Project Component I **Storm Water Drainage Improvement** • Storm water drainage works • Drain improvement • Lake dredging • Sea outfall improvement • Non-structural measures	**LEI&CDP Project Component II** **Community Development** • Resettlement of families living on canal and lake banks • Upgrading of undeserved settlements by providing basic infrastructure facilities
A. Storm water drainage work	A. Upgrading of underserved settlements
B. Lunawa Lake restoration	
C. Water quality improvement and pollution control	
D. Implementation of resettlement plan	

The project had two main components, the first focusing on the state of the environment, and the second to community development. The structure of the project is seen in Table 1. During the project, the altogether 87,3 km of canals were reconstructed, the lake was cleaned up, rainwater harvesting systems introduced, solid waste management launched, residential drainage network improved and sanitation systems constructed. However, the environmental improvement work required 883 households to be resettled, as they inhabited the canal and lake banks prone to frequent flooding (see Table 2). In order to minimize the risk for impoverishment, LEI&CDP involved a participatory development component. It applied National Involuntary Resettlement Policy (NIRP) first time ever in the country, making Lunawa a pilot project for participatory community development and resettlement in Sri Lanka. The rationale behind NIRP is to ensure that the resettled people are not negatively affected, and are able to restore their livelihoods (see Appendix 4). (UN-Habitat 2009).

Table 2 Affected households in LEI&CDP

Resettlement of project affected people in LEI&CDP (as of March 2009 when the project ended)

1) **88 original households resettled to four resettlement sites**
2) 196 households self-relocated off-site
3) 566 households relocated to original sites after upgrading
4) 30 households still under processing, 3 refused resettlement

5) 100 tsunami-resettled households to four resettlement sites

The resettlement process ensured community participation by first having a dialogue with the affected communities with the assistance from local NGOs, establishing community-based organizations (CBOs) and setting up a community information center, then determining compensation measures with the affected persons, establishing a mechanism to address grievances, cooperating with banks to ensure smooth payments of entitlements, providing assistance with legal procedures, ensuring security of tenure, and last by preparing the resettlement sites with locals and restoring lost livelihoods. The compensation was entitled to each affected household unit, its amount depending on the type of ownership, legal entitlements, plot size and lost assets (see Appendix 3). The resettled 88 households were issued plots in four resettlements sites; Lakeview Garden, Riverside Garden, Hike Terrace and Greenview Garden. All these resettled households were entitled with a minimum compensation package (and additional compensation if previous property and livelihoods were damaged); 50 sq. ft. of land, full compensation for the property or 400,000LKR, compensation for other structures and land according to their value, resettlement allowance of 15,000LKR and livelihood restoration grant of minimum 9,000LKR. They were also provided with access roads, water and electricity supply, and drainage infrastructure. Furthermore, according to the project evaluation, there were community centers, playgrounds and other public spaces constructed to improve social integration and development. Additionally, Community Development Forums, CBOs and Neighborhood Development Forums were established and participatory solid waste management and collection arranged according to the community development component. (UN-Habitat 2009).

The Boxing Day tsunami in 2004 did major damage also in the Western coast and CMR, affecting approximately 4,000 households in Moratuwa and Dehiwala-Mt. Lavinia. The affected people were mostly fishermen and craftsmen inhabiting informal settlements in the seashore, losing not only property and assets but also livelihoods and resources to restore them. As a response, UNDP financed UN-Habitat to establish ‘Tsunami Recovery Housing, Community Infrastructure and Livelihood Restoration Project in Moratuwa, Sri Lanka’ in which some 100 households were relocated to permanent housing in the original LEI&CDP resettlement sites. Many plots were unpopulated as original PAPs reconsidered to opt for self-relocation. There is only little information on the implementation of this component, let alone evaluation or follow-up on the effects. Furthermore, there is no public data on places of origin for these people. Additionally, all environmental and community development measures

entitled to PAPs were simultaneously offered to the tsunami-displaced people without further assessment on how to do this in practice. The five components of the resettlement project included i) mobilization of affected communities, ii) organizing community development councils, iii) conducting community action planning, iv) community contracting to rebuild housing and infrastructure, and v) restoring livelihoods through savings and credit (UN-Habitat 2015). The housing project in Moratuwa was only a minor component in the total UN-Habitat and UNDP tsunami recovery efforts in the country. This research aims to respond to the theoretical and technical lack of understanding how such simultaneous resettlement of heterogeneous groups of people is realized in the everyday life of the PAPs and tsunami-displaced people in four LEI&CDP sites.

5 Methods and data

This study follows qualitative research methods. The purpose of such methods is to produce knowledge that puts emphasis on the content rather than the quantity and numerical properties of data. Qualitative methods are suitable when investigating, for example, people's everyday life behavior (Silverman 2005: 6), but are appropriate also when investigating large-scale phenomena with, for example, discourse analysis of policy making. Thus, research questions should always define which methodology to use, not vice versa (ibid.). Single case studies can rarely make generalizations or create theories, but rather they produce knowledge that can be reflected, compared and applied further on (Silverman 2005: 95–108). Also, Silverman says, qualitative research usually deals with a small sample, and puts emphasis on details rather than quantity (2005: 9). Hence, in this case study, qualitative methods suit better as the aim is to unravel the personal experiences of displaced women in one specific area, and through those compile an understanding of the gendered impacts of simultaneous resettlement and rehabilitation. Ideally, the case study would contribute new knowledge on a wider scale, at least in the Sri Lankan and CMR context.

Because of the scope of qualitative research, case study can be chosen by using *purposive sampling* or *theoretical sampling*, methods that are often used interchangeably (Silverman 2005: 129–134). *Purposive sampling* requires an examination of the parameters of the population and choosing the sample based on that (2005: 129). *Theoretical sampling* emphasizes that choosing a case should be based on a theoretical background and earlier research that supports the general research question (2005: 131). Of course, throughout the data collection and research, sample size or even focus might change. Consequently, the

flexibility of qualitative research design is one of its strengths (2005: 133). Bazeley says qualitative research not only provides it, but also requires flexibility from whoever is applying it (2013: 33). On top of these aforementioned features, access and interests define the focus and sample. For example, in CMR, an acknowledged gatekeeper and even research permits are necessary in order to enter army-controlled resettlement sites. Such government control restricts access and narrows down case study options. Crang and Cook (2007: 14) say that the specified research questions and focus of the study should define also those who are participating. In other words, it is not the quantity or representativeness of the participants, but the accessibility and positionality of them regarding the specified research question (ibid.). So, both sampling methods were applied in this case study.

Ethnography is a common approach in qualitative research. It was introduced in the 1970's as a response to positivist geographers' simplified understanding of the complexities of societies and the dynamics in them, issues that cannot be examined with mere statistics (Crang & Cook 2007: 7). Drawing from anthropology and sociology, ethnographic methods are particularly suitable in an environment different from that of the researcher's. The ethos is to understand that the examined societies are not 'pure' or isolated, non-influenced by external phenomena. Neither are the participating people holding only one stable and fixed identity; instead, ethnographic approach understands that socially constructed and reconstructed identities are formed out of many features such as gender, age, ethnicity, class or nationality. These identities are also linked to space and place such as the public and the private. In this case study, the women are not only displaced or resettled. Neither are they only victimized poor women. It is necessary to acknowledge that not everything can be uncovered, since something is always lost, hidden or misarticulated. Identities are unfixed, because they are socially constructed (Massey 1994: 169), and every thought or story is also linked to other people. Because of such messiness, the purpose is not to gather an undeniably objective data and analysis. Crang and Cook underline that with ethnographic research, subjectivity is a recognized fact that should be integrated in the analysis (2007: 13). The researcher is never a detached observant, irrelevant from the examined society. This notion also underlines the need for critical thinking of one's own work and data (Silverman 2005: 72). Instead of detached observant, the researcher is continuously present in the study. Consequently, the study is not only about 'them' but also about 'you', as one's personality and values have constant impact as well (2007: 9). Ethnographic research usually requires several methods to be applied together, and therefore collecting and managing data can be challenging (Bazeley

2013: 68). In this chapter the ethnographic methods used in this case study will be explained; participant observation and visualization, and semi-structured interviews. Also the data collected is presented here, to enable a convenient and smooth structure for the thesis. As the period of fieldwork was rather short, this study is referred to be more as semi-ethnography. This chapter also justifies why these methods were chosen, how they support each other, and how they were utilized in practice in the field.

Besides the ethnographic methods presented in the following, I also analyzed project reports and evaluations, as well as general urban development planning papers and information found through the respective ministries. The information found through these sources was often insufficient in scope and details, and thus the key informant interviews were essential and gave more thorough insights (see chapter 6.2). However, the discourse analysis of this data is not the key for this research, but supports and challenges the perceptions and narratives encountered in interviews and participant observation. Furthermore, also the lack of adequate public data is a finding as such.

The data for this study was collected during a fieldtrip between November and December 2013 in Colombo Metro Region, Sri Lanka. The research focus was on four resettlement sites in Moratuwa and Dehiwala-Mt. Lavinia municipalities, constructed as a part of Lunawa Environmental Improvement & Community Development Programme (LEI&CDP) running between 2002 and 2009. Respondent interviews serve as the primary source of data. Expert interviews were used to supplement the findings of residents' interviews, as well as the discourse analysis of project evaluations and reports, as well as public policy papers. Altogether the fieldwork took approximately one month of intensive daily work. The field trip was self-funded except for a grant of 400€ received from the Department of Geosciences and Geography, University of Helsinki. Practical and institutional assistance was received from a local research institute, International Centre for Ethnic Studies (ICES), which assisted with selecting the location and arranging with the gatekeeper. This research was not a part of any research project.

5.1 Participant observation and visualization

To understand societies, and relationships and everyday-life activities of people in them in a genuine way, ethnographers put value on participatory observation. Usually it is not an adequate method per se, but is used along with interviews, focus groups, statistical analysis or other ethnographic methods. The aim is, controversially to colonial anthropologists, to

make sense of the interchanging local culture by living within it, taking notes, learning and doing. In fact, in order to make sense of the everyday life of the researched community, one needs to step into it. However, 'to observe' gives out a suggestion of a detached researcher, when the emphasis should be in the inter-subjectivity of the researcher and the researched, and the shared experiences in the community. Of course, this type of long-term observation is not possible or even necessary in all research settings (Crang & Cook 2007: 39). In fact, even part time or short term participant observation can bring a valuable extra into the set of methods. This is also the case in this study. Furthermore, due to its sensitive nature, participant observation also holds many ethical considerations. For example, a researcher might struggle in drawing a line between the academic identity and the field identity. Also questions of power relations, cultural confrontations and social conflicts are evident. Some issues witnessed or discussed might be very sensitive: the participants might even fear that some statements will later on be used against them. The researcher needs to also consider the extent to which emerging relationships and trust evolve. (Crang & Cook 2007: 37–59).

Photography is commonly used to supplement the findings of participatory observation. It used to be perceived as an objective form of data, capturing the realistic evidence from the field. Today, it is understood that photographs are always interpreted and their meaning changes according to the context where they are examined (Crang & Cook 2007: 104). It is also understood that for the researchers, a completely natural setting is difficult to access and document (Crang & Cook 2007: 106). Despite of this, photography is a valuable method to support the analysis of other data. It also justifies participant observation better. Crang and Cook even suggest that photography takes interest out of a stranger walking around in an unconventional place (2007: 43). If used as a primary source of data, photography requires a thorough theoretical background for implementing the analysis (Silverman 2005: 163).

In this research, participatory observation was automatically part of data collection in the field. It would not have been possible without a proper gatekeeper, in this case a former LEI&CDP project personnel. In LEI&CDP, the gatekeeper was involved in community mobilization and participatory resettlement functions. His status in the community seemed to be acknowledged and ensured access to collect data. All four resettlement sites were visited at least once. Interaction with participants took place in their homes and once at a friends' house. The research team was also allowed access to public sites, such as community halls and playgrounds. On top of these, different sites in the LEI&CDP project area were visited, such as the Lunawa Lake and the embankments where people were originally displaced from,

the tsunami-affected beach strip with numerous huts and shanties, and the reconstructed canal banks and roads. Each visit was documented in a notebook. A daily field diary was used to supplement the process of understanding and analyzing participant observation. The field diary followed the instructions given in Crang & Cook (2007: 51–52).

In this research it is acknowledged that photography is a subjective form of data and only transmits some perceptions from the field. However, it was applied here to the best possible abilities. Photos were taken to document key project areas, important places to residents, the changes that have taken place, the quality and appearance of assets and physical constructions in the sites, and the general environment. Some of them are presented along the analysis in chapter 7. Photography was also used to make contact with the locals, as many wanted to be photographed. Permit was always asked prior taking a photo. Generating mutual trust and understanding was significant to ensure successful research. No pictures of the interviewees will be displayed in this research in order to protect their privacy. Furthermore, observation and photography in other sites in CMR supported the wider general understanding on urban developments and policies in the capital region. Chitra Lane, a resettlement site, and Slave Island, a central urban underserved settlement indicated to be displaced, were visited. In here, a gatekeeper nor a translator were present, and therefore residents could not be approached. Also other urban regeneration sites and beautification projects were visited and observed informally.

5.2 Semi-structured interviews

Along with participatory observation, interviews are another key source of information in qualitative research and especially in ethnographic approach (Crang & Cook 2007: 60). For interviews, Silverman (2005: 154) presents two ways in which to approach the data gained. First, interviews can be perceived as giving the bits and pieces of reality from which the broader understanding the phenomenon in question is constructed of. This is typical in qualitative research (ibid.). On the other hand, when approaching the research questions from the perspective of participants' everyday lives, interviews could also be treated as personal stories and narratives of the ways in which people perceive the world, instead of 'true pictures of reality' (ibid.). Additionally, it is necessary to acknowledge that for the participants these narratives are the absolute reality, even though as research data they are only a part of a larger understanding of the phenomenon. In this case study both approaches are applied. Silverman supports combining both approaches, but suggests keeping in mind that participant observation needs to support the narratives, and participants need to be considered reliable

and worth the trust (2005: 157). In this case study, the former approach is used in order to give policy recommendations and further research insights, but the latter needs to be acknowledged as it supports the ethnographic principles of the probability of misinterpretation and biased reconstruction of data.

Semi-structured interviews are a more flexible method to gain information than predetermined questionnaires. They also usually narrow down the set of topics to be discussed, as survey interviews can cover a wide range of information of the society instead of personalized focus (Silverman 2005: 155). Furthermore, a semi-structured interview suits well when the focus of the discussion is somewhat clear, and there are some evident topics that need to be addressed. They usually follow a checklist of questions or topics to be discussed, but leaves space for the participants to emphasize issues they find most relevant. The flexible checklist of questions ensures that necessary issues are discussed but gives power to the interviewees as well. Also the order of questions can vary if necessary. The challenge of interviewing is to create trust, share experiences and ask the right questions in a right order, and therefore they need to be prepared carefully. In fact, seemingly a carefree method, it actually requires patience and cultural sensitivity, as well as situational awareness. Crang and Cook (2007: 60) also say that because of the flexibility in the ways in which to do interviews is so broad, it is difficult to predetermine how things will go. For example, some interviews might turn into group discussions, as more people unexpectedly take part. It is also possible that informal chatting, that is part of participant observation, turns into an interview. Challenges also emerge when considering first who to interview, how to approach them, what to consider important, and where to draw the line in appropriateness (ibid.). It is also important to consider the place where interviews take place, as it affects to identity formation.

Finally, the researcher must consider the language used and the probability of information lost in translation and interpretation. When using a translator, one must accept the fact that not all information is transmitted. The translator might summarize information, leave details out, or make intentional or unintentional changes in the discussion. Occasionally, if the participant shares sensitive information, the translator might see his or her right to change it. This also applies vice versa. Such position gives a significant amount of power to the translator and might cause bias in analysis. Trust between the researcher and the translator is crucial, but can be hard to obtain. In this case study semi-structured interviews were conducted with the resettled people in the four resettlement sites, as well as with experts and stakeholders of the project.

5.2.1 Resident interviews

In the fieldwork, some adjustments had to be made regarding the sample size and participants location. Due to limited resources of the research team and lack of official information on off-site resettlements, the sample (and research questions) had to be narrowed down to only focus on on-site resettled people (referred from now on as PAPs, project-affected persons). Furthermore, tsunami-displaced people had to be included and the research question modified since it turned out that a great number of the residents were actually tsunami victims (referred from now on as tsunami-displaced persons). This new information did increase the level of challenge, but also made the research setting more unique. Bazeley (2013: 33) says this flexible nature of ethnographic research provides both new opportunities and challenges.

According to the general principles of ethnographic research, fixed conditions and principles for fieldwork were avoided as eventually the study outcome reflects the real life situation in the field. However, a starting point and baseline was created: the neighborhood was chosen based on the contacts and suggestions received from local experts in ICES. LEI&CDP was chosen because the accessibility and contact persons. Involuntary displacements in urban areas in Sri Lanka are implemented by the national army (CPA 2014). The political environment in the country has been tense during and since the end of civil war, and mistrust and conflicts are deeply rooted into the disparities between religious and ethnic groups. The minorities frequently express dissatisfaction towards the Rajapaksa regime, and therefore political opposition and criticism on urban regeneration and beautification projects is largely silenced (ibid.). It was evident that access and safety for fieldwork would be guaranteed only in LEI&CDP because of the participatory nature of the project, international funding and UN consultancy (UN-Habitat 2009).

Semi-structured resident interviews took place in all four resettlement sites of the LEI&CDP project; Lakeview Garden, Riverside Garden, Green view Garden and Hike Terrace (see map on page 39). When the project finished in 2009, there were 88 PAPs and 100 tsunami-resettled households in the four sites. Today, the number might be slightly more or less, as property is also rented out. The preliminary plan held 213 land plots; 42 in Hike Terrace, 63 in Lakeview Garden, 90 in Riverside Garden, and 18 in Greenview Garden (Hewawasam 2009). The aim was to also visit off-site resettled people outside Lunawa catchment area, but it turned out to be beyond the resources of the team. There was no up-to-date household data available on the project-affected people who did not obtain housing in the resettlement areas. After agreeing with this turn of events, focus was given on the four aforementioned sites. I visited the sites

and walked around the areas in several days and randomly approached the residents. Amount of interviews in each site was reflective to the approximate number of residents and land plots. Unfortunately there is no accurate data on the exact number of residents in each site, due to informal out-renting. Altogether 26 semi-structured resident interviews were conducted (table 3). In 10 instances there were other household members shortly taking part in discussion and providing new insights. In all but two of these instances they were male members, husbands or fathers. In one interview the woman's sister was present, in another instance it was the participant's daughter. All interviewees were told that individual discussions and personal narratives are in focus, but family members participated despite of this. Due to courtesy and cultural norms, family members were not asked to leave, as it would have been considered inappropriate. Interviews took approximately one hour (1:01), varying from 1 hour and 34 minutes to 42 minutes in length. All but one interview took place inside the residents' own homes. The interview structure can be found in Appendix 1.

When approaching the residents, first the purpose and objective nature of the study were explained. In all but one instances the residents were more than willing to be interviewed. We only proceeded people who were willing to participate in the study. The sessions started off with some preliminary questions about the household and its members. Everybody was introduced, and I also shared some pictures and small souvenirs from Finland in order to tone down the power relations and tension. The size of the households varied from 2 to 10 inhabitants. Extended families were the most common form of living (23 out of 26). Even though simultaneously representing the whole household, interviewees were encouraged to share their personal experiences, stories and sensations that related to everyday life activities and sense of place after resettlement. Because personal perceptions were encouraged, it did not matter whether the women were household heads or not. In some cases questions of household economics were beyond the participants' knowledge. The general questions at the start seemed to be a commonly approved way to break the ice, and more personal and sensitive questions followed. The interviews went on according to Speak's framework of everyday life (2012). Sharing trauma and loss with everyday experiences required sensitivity and situational knowledge. All interviews were recorded as it was first agreed with the participants, and also extensive amount of notes were taken. Oral recordings provide the opportunity to examine the richness of interpretation with tones, emphasis and pace of language, and is therefore a crucial method in deepening the understanding of also written notes (Jackson & Russell 2010: 183). Participant observation and photography took place simultaneously along with the

interviews. Household assets and quality of land and property were noted down according to the best of knowledge. The participants were asked if it is appropriate to take photos. In between interviews public and communal areas were also visited with the gatekeeper and some interviewers. Similarly, photos and notes were taken. Participant observation was a noteworthy method especially to support the narratives of everyday life and sense and use of places. I was also evident that my presence had an impact in the ways in which issues were presented, and it also caused some misunderstandings in relation to the project implementation.

Table 3 Interviews in four LEI&CDP resettlement sites.

Resettlement site **Project affected persons**	**Riverside Garden**	**Hike Terrace**	**Green view Garden**	**Lakeview Garden**
Disaster displaced persons N= 11	9	-	1	1
Development displaced persons N= 15	1	6	2	6
Altogether N= 26	10	6	3	7

The gatekeeper was essential to access and contact with residents. He was the former community mobilizer in LEI&CDP, familiar with the area, the residents and the project implications. Besides him, also an outside translator was employed. Generally, educated people in Sri Lanka speak fluent English, but among poor slum dwellers and rural uneducated people Sinhala and Tamil dominate. Cooperation with translator and gatekeeper was mostly successful. However, some issues that emerged during the fieldwork will be discussed more in chapter 7.5.

Most interviews took place at the interviewees' homes, as the home works as a constant reference to questions on everyday life (Crang & Cook 2007: 63). Home also provides safety and convenience to participants. Due to conservative gender roles in Sri Lanka, many women spend their days inside or in the very proximity of their house, and thus it was a natural setting for interviews. It has also been realized that such a setting shares power between the research

team and the interviewee, and can create a more secure and reliable place to share life stories. Interviewees were the daughters, mothers or the grandmothers of the family.

5.2.2 Expert interviews

Besides resident interviews, also 12 key informants from various backgrounds were discussed with (see table 4). This was essential in order to gain a broader perspective on not only LEI&CDP project and its outcomes, but also the general history and context of urban development and displacements in Sri Lanka, the current political situation and its reflections to urban policy making, and culturally valid gender norms and social structures. The key informants included local project personnel, NGO representatives, researchers, architects, independent consultants, and academia. The contacts were gained through ICES networks. At first the pursuing of valid contacts was challenging, partly due to the lack of information and tight schedule. The working culture of hierarchies, and insufficient communication tools were also reasons for this. Eventually I missed a few important contacts, and could not get into touch with the current officers at the UDA. The critical point of departure for my investigation was also sensitive in this sense.

Seven out of the 12 key informants were women. Interviews with CEPA and the two architects took place at the same time. These interviews were conducted in either workplaces or offices, or public places such as cafes, restaurants or on the street. The neutral and/or familiar places of interviews added up to the confidence and sense of trust in the sensitive conversations. Also all stakeholder interviews were recorded and transcribed, according to their wishes. The conversations took approximately one hour each. In here, no translator was needed, and the interviews were excluded from outsiders, expect when they took place in public places. I do not refer to the stakeholders' real names due the sensitivity of some topics.

The level of knowledge on LEI&CDP per se varied, and therefore also the interview structure had to be modified slightly according to each person's background. The checklist of questions for semi-structured expert interviews can be found in Appendix 2. Most stakeholder interviews took place after the resident interviews had been conducted, and reflections to the preliminary findings and analysis was done also during the expert interviews. This worked as a transmission of information and did give valid points to discussion, but might have also affected into the extent of responses. It is also critical to note that similarly to resident interviews, neither should the information given by stakeholders be considered as pure and objective data (Crang & Cook 2007: 90). Especially those representing the project

implementation party agreed along the lines of reports and evaluations previously made. Also issues such as gender or counter-hegemonic policy making are often value-based topics, and should not be taken as isolated sources of data.

Table 4 Expert interviews

Date	Organization (and position)	Topic of the interview
26.11.2013 **29.11.2013** **2.12.2013**	Community mobilizer in LEI&CDP	LEI&CDP project implementation
2.12.2013	Sevanatha, a local NGO	Development induced displacements in CMR
5.12.2013	Independent environmental consultant	Development induced displacements in Sri Lanka, and urban planning
9.12.2013	Senior Researcher, Centre for Poverty Analysis, CEPA	Development induced displacements in CMR
9.12.2013	Research Professional, Centre for Poverty Analysis, CEPA	Development induced displacements in CMR
10.12.2013	Professor, University of Moratuwa	Urban planning and politics in Sri Lanka
10.12.2013	Consultant for community development LEI&CDP, UN-Habitat	LEI&CDP project implementation
11.12.2013	Social architect	Social dimensions of planning for poor communities
11.12.2013	Social architect	Social dimensions of planning for poor communities
18.12.2013	Project Manager, UDA	LEI&CDP project implementation, evaluation and follow-up
18.12.2013	CENWOR, Centre for Women's Research	Gender in Sri Lanka
18.12.2013	SSA, Social Scientist Association	Gender in Sri Lanka

The pool of informants was heterogeneous and served the study well. Also the addressed topics varied and contributed to a richer analysis. The community mobilizer/gatekeeper of LEI&CDP was discussed with informally in several occasions while conducting participant observation in the project sites. Sevantha is a local organization with notable background in projects with underserved settlements. The independent consultant gave reflections to displacement processes in the Mahaweli irrigation scheme in the 1980's. Researchers at CEPA have been concerned with the lack of social consciousness in the current displacement projects, and have worked with similar issues as mine. The University of Moratuwa has

conducted extensive research on urban planning and policies in CMR in particular, and provided me with historical and technical aspects to look into. The UN-Habitat consultant had worked intensively with LEI&CDP and especially with the community development component of it. The social architects contributed further to the theoretical aspects of urban resettlement and its implications to slum dwellers. The initial project manager from UDA supported the general understanding of the wider scope of LEI&CDP and its relation to other similar projects, as well as the admitted failures and achieved success. Finally, the gender experts in CENWOR and SSA provided against-all-norms arguments on the gender roles and gendered society that is Sri Lanka, and critical background notes of which should be considered whenever pursuing gender sensitive research there.

5.3 'Everyday life' approach

The methodology in this case study supports an *everyday life framework,* a concept first introduced by Gilroy and Booth in order to support a feminist perspective on studying how women and men use space differently in different contexts (1999). It is also a useful framework to evaluate personal experiences of daily interactions. Everyday life framework puts emphasis on counter-hegemonic approach and bottom-up point of view. However, the conservative roles of women being only the reproducers and men being only the producers (income earners) of the household does not necessarily reflect the everyday life situation of people living in resettlement sites. In order to evaluate how the spaces and places the women use have changed due to relocation, it is necessary to also include other spheres but the home. Therefore, the everyday life framework combines physical, emotional and social aspects of the lived spaces of people being displaced – such as the difficulties in maintaining social relationships or gaining income due to the relocations and social ignoring. Giddens (in Gilroy & Booth 1999: 309) says everyday life is always constructed out of social relations, but in the context of poor relocated people it seems that also physical assets are highly valued (Mukhija 2001). This framework combines both.

The everyday life framework is divided into five domains, which are *home and neighborhood, making ends meet, enjoyment, sources of support* and *having a say* (Gilroy & Booth 1999: 310; Speak 2012: 348–356, figure 7). Speak argues that this is a more thorough approach than *rights-based* or *capability-based* frameworks – which are also very common in development studies – because this method "[…] truly understands and translates the lived experiences of the urban poor [...]" (Speak 2012: 348). Today, the everyday life framework is a tool used by

planners particularly in housing projects in developing countries (Speak 2012). In such context, resettlement planning is approached from the perspective of the daily lives, activities, social relationships and networks of the study participants, and play a crucial role in successful rehabilitation processes (Speak 2012). In this case study, the framework is used to support the general research questions and to guide semi-structured interviews. In short, the resettled women are asked to describe different aspects of their lives that are related to these five domains, and how they have been affected due to evictions and resettlements. These are all closely linked to the ways in which the women use and experience the transformation on spaces and places in the new neighborhoods.

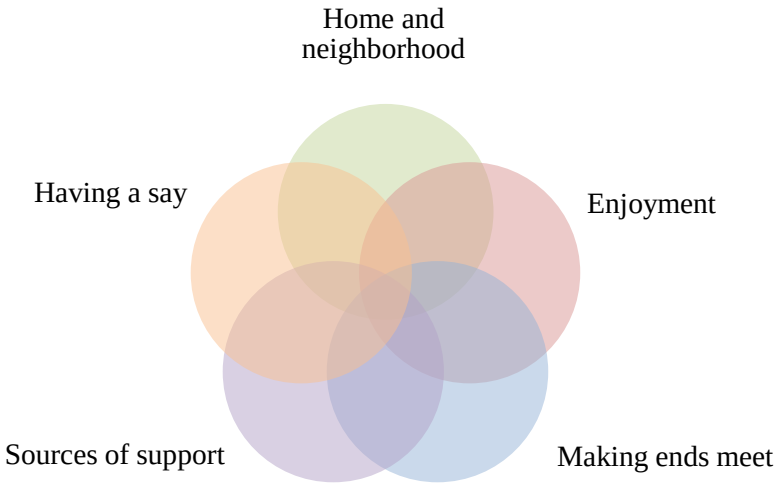

Figure 7 Everyday life framework visualized (Gilroy & Booth 1999).

The most important of these domains, Speak argues, is *home and neighborhood*. A home provides not only physical shelter and protection, but is also a reflection of one's values, identity or position in the society. Boundaries of home make distinction between 'self' or 'us' versus 'the others'. As housing in Sri Lanka is typically shared, it also reflects the hierarchies and relationship between residents. For example, the position of women reflect the housing type by lacking or providing privacy. On the other hand, housing in urban areas is often constructor-led, and residents have little to say on the physical outcome. Speak emphasizes the importance of home and neighborhood also because all the other four activities are dependent on it (2012: 349). Gilroy and Booth argue that the role of home and neighborhood is necessary when studying women, as they traditionally spend more time in the proximity of home, and are constantly involved in homemaking. Also in Sri Lanka, women's lives are

socially conceptualized as taking place mostly in the private place. Other domains incorporated under home and neighborhood is presented in figure 8.

Besides home, also neighborhood reflects one's identity and social relations and status. For many urban poor, most daily activities take place close to home. Informal economy is a common employer in underserved settlements. Also lack of security and money restrict the area where people interact. Also, women are often forced to spend most of their days very close to the house, as children need to be guarded and food prepared. Furthermore, in some social settings it is not approved for women to leave the house by themselves. The narratives and experiences that evolve around the new spaces of relocated homes are crucial to this study. Also security plays an important role as relocations were implemented involuntarily, and slum settlements commonly attract crime. When relocated to the outskirts of the city from the central districts, also questions of infrastructure, education and environment are crucial.

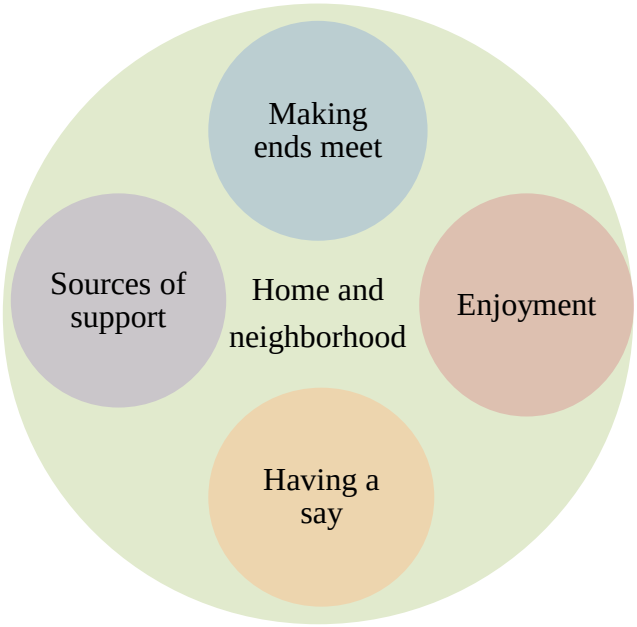

Figure 8 Everyday life framework visualized so that other domains are inclusive to home and neighborhood (Gilroy & Booth 1999).

The second domain is *making ends meet*. This means general ways of getting income, supply food, housing and schooling. It is either formal or informal employment, self-employment, loans, begging, remittances or other social means of getting by (Speak 2012: 352). It also means the ways in which to balance expenditure. After resettlement or upgradation the increased costs of living can cause unexpected vulnerabilities (Archer 2012). Households that are not used to paying for electricity, solid waste management, clean water supply let alone rent, can perceive this as an unnecessary burden. What is also common in newly constructed areas is that there are no spaces for informal economies, such as street vending, to occur. Ambiguous regulations and belated paperwork can prevent scaling up the housing to suit self-employment activities. If relocated far off-site, transportation costs and time used increase. In Delhi this led into unemployment and scattered families (Speak 2012). Also urban cultivation and gardening may be essential in providing food security to the poor, but due to lack of space these activities might have vanished. This

intensifies food insecurity. The ideology behind this sort of planning is paradoxical as the middle class is usually encouraged in entrepreneurship to create further national growth. Fernando et al. (2009) underline the absolute importance of restoring poor citizens' livelihoods after displacements.

The third domain is *sources of support*, which includes formal healthcare as well as social relationships, networks and interaction. Speak says that generally the poor rely on social capital and informal sources of assistance (2012: 354). Tudawe (2001: 33) says social networks are among the most important coping methods for poor people. The significance of these relations often compensates the lack of money. These relationships are crucial in providing help and assistance when needed, for example in childcare or food supply as well as security and giving advice. Consequently, these networks are under threat in simultaneous displacements. After evictions these relationships have to be renegotiated and recreated, which can be a difficult task in a new environment. Hegemony in cultural norms builds social security and trust, whereas if these are lost the chance for insecurity and conflicts can arise. Reflecting to the social construction of communities in Sri Lanka and the value of belonging to a place also in communal terms, social networks and relationships can be assumed to be one of the key domains in the case study. Furhermore, it can be expected that this domain is especially crucial in the wellbeing of women who spend a lot of their time at home and depend on external assistance for survival (Kottegoda 2004). Speak also says that while settlement areas developed and upgraded, the work should not only focus on the housing, but service provision too (2012: 355).

The fourth area of daily life is *enjoyment*. This means the opportunities and challenges to socialize and spend free time. For many poor, cultural and religious activities can be significant ways to spend leisure time. Speak that says in Delhi citizens became frustrated and bored as there were no longer places to meet with friends or have hobbies (2012). Community houses, Internet cafes, restaurants and public places are crucial spaces for people to interact, but after the relocations such services can be vanished. However, this domain should face some critique. Referring to previous insights on gendered division of labor and place in Sri Lanka, leisure time and social activities in this extent are not common. Also the economic capability has impact on this. LEI&CDP took place in peri-urban slum where such services were already scarce, so it is likely that they are not longed after.

The final domain is *having a say*, which indicates the level of social and political participation and freedom of speech, both formally and informally, in the areas of relocation. The scale of participation varies from household level to neighborhood and community all the way to national social and political participation. Urban planning is an effective and powerful tool of governing and negotiating the right to the city (Yiftachel 2009), and therefore it is easily used to promote the interests of those in power (Speak 2012). By restricting the citizens from gathering up and creating local governance via insufficiently planned public spaces, the central regime can effectively silence the opposition. Needless to say, this type of governing might also end up in even louder criticism and conflicts. Feminist approach in both planning resettlement as well as sustainable urban development emphasize the need and capacity for the community to self-govern (Speak 2012: 355–356).

6 Analysis and results

Qualitative data analysis provides new insights and deep understanding of a phenomenon in question (Bazeley 2013: 3). Analysis is centered on cases that compile the focus of the analysis. Cases also ground the theory found in earlier literature. In this study, cases are independent interviews, but form an interrelated whole. Analysis is, at the end, the understanding of the broader themes that stem from interrelatedness of instances (Bazeley 2013: 5). Bazeley continues by saying that there is no one right way of approaching the data (2013: 8). Usually analysis requires going back and forth, reflecting to theory, finding new meanings, deleting some data and emphasizing new information (see figure 9).

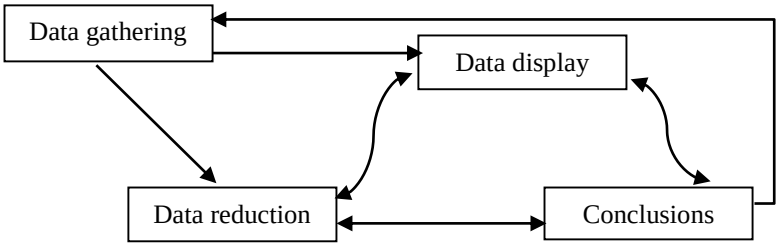

Figure 9 Phases of data analysis according to Miles and Huberman (Bazeley 2013: 12)

Analysis is a constant reflection and reconsideration of data and conclusions. Of course, preliminary analysis was made in the field simultaneously during and after conducting the interviews and participant observation. Towards the end of the fieldwork, the results were presented for ICES researchers in a workshop. Discussion of results with local experts also provided new insights and issues to consider further in the analysis.

The data gathered here is examined with thematic discourse analysis of interviews and the supportive participant observation and photography. In human geography and other social sciences discourse analysis does not reflect to studying the meaning of language-in-use per se, but the wider discourse that the language produces (Dittmer 2010: 275). Discourse analysis also includes meanings that come from interaction, body language and culturally significant symbolic acts (ibid.). They are also reflections of the everyday life that can be analyzed with participant observation. Poststructuralist perspective in discourse analysis means that instead of pre-determined struggle of classes, identity is formed through socially constructed identities and discourses (Dittmer 2010: 277). Also gender-relations can be understood as forms of multiple discourses. As for the analysis, no matter how complex it might get, there are two (or three) ground rules to acknowledge; first referring and reflecting to the social context in which the data was constructed, and secondly considering the rhetoric of the text (or the narration) itself and (thirdly) by whom and for whom it was produced (Dittmer 2010: 279). The problem lies within how and in what scale should these meso-, micro-, or macro-scales of analysis are be used, as there are no explicit guidelines for them (ibid.). Bazeley (2013: 114) says that while studying the everyday lives of the respondents and discourses they are evolved in, depicting personal storylines assists in creating the wider narrative. Studying these short stories and insights of daily life emphasizes the significance of feminist perspective in development studies, but also helps to formulate the larger discourse of the discussed topic. The reports and evaluations utilized as sources of data for this research were examined with discourse analysis in particular.

Bazeley says that thematic analysis is an alternative to coding and content analysis, in which sometimes the interrelatedness of narratives, as well as the wider understanding of a phenomenon can sometimes be lost. In this case, I realized from the beginning that the wider themes along with sub-themes were rather obvious, but very much connected to one another, as also Cernea suggests in the context of resettlement impacts. Therefore, in order to maintain the linkages and to avoid too quantifiable an analysis, thematic approach was chosen. The moderate amount of interviews also made this possible. In order to detect the discourses of sense of place and community, of which there were only indirect questions, thematic analysis was more suitable. Bazeley says that thematic analysis is used rather vaguely, but when done right, it provides a rich and detailed understanding of a phenomenon and can work as a tool on its own right (2013: 191). She also says it is a mixture of coding and theory building, and this is what also happened in my case.

Interviews were first transcribed and supplemented with field notes. They were then thoroughly read and listened over several times. In this way the overarching narratives, similarities, contrasts, metaphors and context are unveiled. Simultaneously, certain themes and categories started emerging. When these were established, coding provided for the further analysis. Coding assists in managing, locating, identifying and sorting data (Bazeley 2013: 125). This was done manually with excel. Compared to computer driven content analysis, discourse analysis looks after the bigger narratives with (arguably) less effort. There were also some parameters that did work as determinants of wider discourses, such as whether the respondents wanted to move somewhere else, or whether they participated in community activities. These are highlighted in the analysis. Also Silverman emphasizes that it is necessary to let the theorizations stem from the analysis, not vice versa (2010: 185). The key for analytical process is to see the interconnectedness and causalities before and after breaking the themes into smaller units of discussion (Bazeley 2013: 15).

The main categories emerging from the discourses and narratives with the residents were;

a) physical assets and environment
b) ownership of property
c) livelihood strategies and management
d) community development
e) sense of place and belonging
f) gender roles

The analysis of expert interviews is merged with the resident narrative analysis. The focus of each interview was rather dependent on the person's experience and knowledge base, but still followed the prerequisites of semi-structured interview and checklist of questions. The key topics emerging from those discussions were;

a) project management and implementation
b) community development in underserved settlements
c) development induced displacements in Sri Lanka
d) gender roles
e) urban development practices in CMR

This chapter will outline these abovementioned categorizations as described by the residents. The analysis will use quotes by the respondents in order to present the narratives as

authentically as possible. They are also supplemented by the experts' insights in order to also form a broader understanding of the general resettlement policies and practices in Sri Lanka and also women's position in them. However, the discussion of general urban planning in Colombo and CMR, involuntary displacements, as well as the national debate on structuralized urbanization of the country according to Mahinda Chintana, were the focus of many expert interviews. They do not link directly into the analysis of resident interviews, but contribute to the wider understanding of political tensions and dynamics, and are therefore discussed in their own right in sub-chapter 6.6.

6.1 Physical assets and the environment

The average distance to the original place of displacement was 2,9 kilometers. PAPs were resettled within the LEI&CDP project area, and for them the average distance varied from 2 kilometers to only few hundred meters. For the tsunami-displaced people, the distance varied from 1 to 10 kilometers. All residents had moved into the sites 4 to 11 years ago (as of the time of the interviews, in December 2013). The average length of stay was thus 7,2 years.

The infrastructure and physical and technical improvements in service provision and quality of the environment in the project seem to be delivered according to the project evaluation (UN-Habitat 2009). Also the interviewed project personnel praised this. All resettled residents had received a 2 perch plot of land in one of the four entitled sites. For an additional cost, they have been able to purchase extra land. None of the respondents mentioned to have done this. PAPs had also received the minimum of 425,000LKR as a compensation for the lost property in order to construct a new one. Compensation of lost land was given according to compensation principles (Appendix 3). According to the project manager, an entitlement package this generous was first of its kind in the country. However, three respondents said that they had not received adequate compensation for their land, and also that it did not cover all families living in the same property. For the tsunami-displaced persons, housing was financed by donor funding. The quality of property was a step up for most interviewees (19 out of 26). 10 out of 11 tsunami-displaced women said that the project housing was a major improvement compared to their old homes. According to the interviews with project management, the improved livelihoods were the outcome of upgrading the physical environment of the former slum dwellers. With the PAPs, variation in the quality of previous settlement and the way in which they experienced the quality of the new property was bigger; 9 out of 15 PAPs said that the physical qualities and facilities of the new settlement were

Figure 10 Slum settlements on Angulana beach

Figure 11 Home gardening on the street

better compared to the previous one. 16 households had had substandard water supply and management in the previous settlement; they absorbed the wastewater into the ground or let it flow into the canal and lake. They did not have in-house water supply, but used common water resources from a public tap or well. None of the households had had any sort of solid waste management. Garbage was either burned or thrown into the canals, lake or sea. Tsunami displaced women said that they systematically threw solid waste into the sea. Slum settlements in the beach are still present only a few hundred meters from the resettlement sites (see figure 10).

Despite of the physical improvements in facilities and assets, only 5 out of all 26 interviewees said they have enough space in the new house. Lack of space, either land or living area, was a major worry for most respondents when asking about the physical environment and property. The project management said that the plot size was the result of negotiation between high-rise apartments and separate small housing. If willing to have more space, people should have opted for off-site resettlement package. Residents had flowers and plants growing in pots in the alleys. They were often also formed as a fence to make a statement of property and 'own place'. People also kept laundry on the streets or own the playground, as there were no space elsewhere. The presence of nature in the sites was minimized (see figures 11 & 12).

> *"Earlier we had 5 rooms, a well, and we rented 2 rooms. And we had a lot of land. The house was unauthorized but it was complete. This house is ok but there is no front and no back yard. We have no space for protection*." –Woman, resettled to Lakeview Garden from Ratmalana

> *"This current house is ok but it has very little space. Facilities here are better. Here we have waste collection. In the old place we used to burn the trash. Also*

there was no proper way for the drainage. The environment here is better, because we used to live very close to the sea and railway. The water came in when the tsunami hit. But land space is the biggest problem in this area." –Woman, resettled 7 years ago from Korolawella because of the tsunami

"Here we have no privacy. In the old place we had our own trees and land. Many trees, mango, coconut… In here other people can hear what we are talking about. We have all the services here, good transportation and all. But we don't have our privacy." –Woman, resettled to Greenview Garden 7 years ago from canal bank in Angulana

Figure 12 The street is now replacing former yards and activities in them

Residents agreed that infrastructure had improved because of the regular wastewater management and toilet pits that now collect the water from houses. Garbage truck visits the area twice a week. There were no instances of flooding since the project finished, which was the main objective of LEI&CDP. However, 10 out of 26 interviewees said that despite of the project, environment has been degrading again. Two interviewees said that the canal still smells and carries pollution. This was evident in all visits to the sites (see figure 13). Respondents said the drains are still not functioning properly, and blocking is common. Project management also admitted this to be the main failure of the project, as the municipal council has not cooperated with environmental maintenance. Near-by industries pollute the water bodies, but also residential waste was common. Colombo-based architects specialized in social development in underserved areas also claimed that without adequate facilities, guidance, education and means to ensure poverty alleviation in resettlements the environment is likely to degrade back to the original state. The community mobilizer agreed that the resettled people in LEI&CDP are not able to maintain the canal and that eventually all improvements are lost. Also a representative from Sevantha claimed that this is a common pattern following involuntary resettlement in CMR.

"The drain system is the problem because other people are not interested in maintaining it. We have to clean it every day. There is a block next to our house. […] I clean the drain every day after I have finished housework. It gives bad smells. The people from outside are very weak and they are not interested in cleaning the drain. I try to discuss this every day but people are not interested. All the main sewer lines are around this house." –Woman, resettled to Riverside Garden 8 years ago

"Now everything is ok in the Lunawa project. But in the future the community doesn't know how to maintain the environment and everything will go back to how it was before." – Community mobilizer in LEI&CDP

"…And then what happened then, now appears after 10-15 years, those areas are becoming again slums. And very insecure, unhealthy, and of course, people can't even move around you know. It becomes again a totally unregulated kind of situation. Then there will be social problems and health problems and things like that." –Sevanatha representative

Figure 13 Polluted main canal

In Greenview Garden, residents said that a chicken farm is a major environmental and health hazard, as the poultry runs free in residential areas. Six interviewees said that there are significant health issues, mostly dengue fever because of the dirty stagnant water. Environmental pollution from the nearby industrial area was visible during every visit. According to project evaluation, there is no post-project management of industrial waste. To the project management, the pollution was mainly a question of inadequate actions taken by the authorities, not the industries per se.

The quality and access to services was dependent on the location of the previous settlement. 8 out of 26 residents said that services are fundamentally better than in the previous place. Most commonly mentioned and used services were public transportation (train station), market, hospital and the police. On the other end, those displaced from settlements near the Galle road claimed that public transportation is now difficult to access, and it takes more time to run daily errands. Also CEPA researchers said that a common concern seems to be the access to services after displacement. None of the respondents mentioned the local schools to be an improvement. Three respondents said that commuting to schools outside the site is now more difficult. Safeness was associated with the presence of the police and hospitals (formal services) instead of the environment or the community. On the other hand, the lack of safety was more associated with social disarticulation, thieves and drug users. On our numerous visits, we did not encounter police officers nor other authorities in the sites.

> *"Our old place was near the road. In here we cannot really move around because this is far away and there are no streetlights. We need to buy all stuff, food and so on, at once, once a month. The development is good, but the services are not."* –Woman, resettled to Greenview Garden 7 years ago from Angulana

> *"People and services make the area safe. Everything is nearby…police station and school. Also roads are clear and that increases safety."* –Woman, resettled to Riverside Garden 7 years ago

6.1.1 Ownership of property

Most respondents said that they were living in an authorized dwelling prior displacement (17 out of 26). Also many tsunami-displaced people occupying the beach strip claimed to have owned the house and land they were settling (6 out of 11). There is no legitimate authorization for these claims, and it is difficult to make a definite conclusion on this. It is common that families who have been occupying certain piece of land for decades claim it their own. Land is dominantly owned by the state in Sri Lanka, with 83% proportion. With slum displacements this justifies the use of power of the eminent domain. Also landlessness in the country is high with 27% of the population (Scalise 2009: 66). With this in mind, authorized housing was perceived as a blessing by illegal dwellers. All in all, half of the respondents were happy to move into the resettlement site (13 out of 26), mostly because of the access to legalized and improved physical property;

"We are happy to have a permanent place to stay. We are happy that the tsunami came. If there was no tsunami we would not have gotten the house, because we were illegal settlers." –Woman, resettled to Riverside Garden 8 years ago from Egoduuyana beach

"I am proud to live here, we no longer have a wooden house. All the facilities are here. I selected this place because it was close to the temple. We started this house with our own money. I wish to stay here." –Woman, resettled to Riverside Garden 8 years ago

On the other end, the physical ownership of property still did not satisfy another 13 respondents. Also, security of tenure was still in process while visiting the sites in December 2013. Residents had gotten ownership forms, but the final deeds were still pending. None of the 26 interviewed women said they had gotten the deed despite the fact that the project had ended in 2009. 15 interviewees said that this has caused them problems, as mere ownership form or electricity bills cannot prove official ownership or property. The most common downsides of not having the deed were the lack of access to housing loan (9 respondents), the lack of access to schools outside the sites (3 respondents) and the inability to sell the property (6 respondents). Some respondents claimed several consequences.

"Because of the deed we cannot get a housing loan and build more [upstairs]. We also cannot sell this house if we don't have the deed, so we are trapped here." –Woman, resettled to Riverside Garden 8 years ago

"We have lost marks for school because we don't have the deed. For the ownership form they give 3 marks. But for the deed they give 35 marks. We cannot even sell the house because we don't have the deed. We have applied for three schools. Our child will go to school next year but he doesn't have a place yet. We will try to find another way to put the child to school. We are trying to pay the principal or something like that. I think the child's studies are the most important thing." –Woman, resettled to Hike Terrace from Katubedda 10 years ago

"We don't have a loan because no one will give it to us. I would like to take one so that we could build upstairs and then rent it. We don't have the deed and also nobody else has." –Woman, resettled 11 years ago to Hike Terrace in the same area

The lack of deeds was evidently one of the greatest concerns of residents, regardless of the site they were living in. I was often enquired about them, as well as other activities to ensure project continuation. In a few instances people were very anxious about this. The community mobilizer claimed that the up-coming parliamentary elections were the reason for the slow tempo in the validation process: "I think people will receive their deeds before the election, as an exchange for votes. This is an inside story, and it is illegal". Also the interviewed Sevanatha representative said that rumors about political involvement and corruption have emerged also in other sites. Project management claimed that the deeds were on their way but had been postponed in the fear of families selling property and misusing the profits. 3 or 4 families had already rented out or sold their property without authorization, but most of those who wanted to move elsewhere (10 out of 26) were still waiting;

> *"A project person came to tell that we will get the deed next month. First time we were told that we get the deed 3 years after moving, and that has been 6 years now. We are not sure if we will get it this time because we have heard the same thing 6 years ago already. The deeds are the responsibility of the municipal council."* –Woman, resettled 9 years ago from Moratuwa town

> *"When we go to the school and ask for the place, the principals don't believe us because we don't have the deed. They say that the tsunami came long time ago."* –Woman, resettled to Hike Terrace from Katubedda 10 years ago

> *"It is a normal thing, in slum and shanty development; we have given the deeds and then they sell the property. We have a lot of experience on this. For example, we have seen, if we give the deed to the household head then he will sell it and leave the family and…. It's now like a government certificate. Maybe in like 10 years they will get the deeds. Ownership is there. But sometimes they sell the right."* –UN-Habitat consultant for community development in LEI&CDP

6.2 Livelihood strategies and management

The minimum compensation entitled to all PAPs was 425,000LKR. Additional compensation was entitled to those who lost their land or livelihoods in the project. Only few respondents said to have received this. Tsunami-displaced persons acquired only land and housing, but no additional resources for livelihood restoration. One woman said that there was a chance to get finance for it, but she was out of town and missed it. Two PAPs said that they received some small amount for livelihood restoration. Little less than half (10 out of 26) of the interviewees

said that the compensation was inadequate to build the house and/or acquire a piece of land that suits their needs. Most of these said that they cannot fit into one floor, and would have needed more money in order to construct a second floor. Those who had had very big property but didn't get compensated for it, were obviously disappointed (6/26);

> *"There were four households living in our old place, but we only got one house from the project. We think this is unfair. We were 15 people living there in that one big area but because we only got compensation for one house, the other have returned back to Ratmalana because they cannot fit here. So our relatives had to build a new house on their own money. They refused to give all the land to the project and are now staying there."* –Woman, resettled to Greenview Garden 7 years ago from Ratmalana

More than half of the interviewees (58%) said that they have had to take a loan, either to finish the construction work or to restart business. Unfortunately without the deed, the residents have not been able to acquire formal housing loan, but have been forced to rely on middlemen and unofficial sources of finance. Unofficial loans have typically high interest rates, even up to 10 or 20 percent. The micro-loans or community loans have smaller interest rates. For some respondents, the loan taking had formed a systematic pattern; new loans had to be taken in order to pay previous interests. One woman said that they were waiting for the deed so that they could sell the property and pay back their interests. Six women said that they had to pawn their jewelry in order to manage financially. Jewelry in Sri Lanka is a status symbol acquired after marrying (dowry) and usually holds strong connotations to being women's own property.

Figure 14 Unfinished housing

> *"Now I can take 1000LKR a day but I would have to pay in the evening with 3 percent interest. There are so many places there but the interest is too high. If I*

take it, how will I pay it back? If I take 500LKR in the morning and then in the evening I have to pay 3 percent more. So I have not taken it". –Woman, resettled to Riverside Garden 7 years ago from Angulana beach

The money we got as compensation was not enough so we had to take a loan from a friend. We also took loan from the society but I find it difficult to pay it back. I pay back once a week for the sewing machine, and all I earn is spent. We have taken a loan from the neighbors with 20 percent interests. We are still paying the interest. In the old place we could easily borrow from relatives and neighbors but not here because we don't know them. So that's why we have the interest. – Woman, resettled to Greenview Garden 7 years ago from Ratmalana

"I took a loan to start a business, it was 3 lakhs [300,000LKR]. I also had to pawn my jewelry and I am sad about that because it was mine and I had earned it. I don't have anything [own] now". –Woman, resettled to Riverside Garden 7 years ago

The aim of the LEI&CDP was not only to improve the physical environment but also to have a positive impact on the wellbeing of the residents and enforce poverty alleviation. The National Involuntary Resettlement Policy (NIRP) applied in LEI&CDP states that: "Where involuntary displacement in unavoidable, affected people should be assisted to re-establish themselves and improve their quality of life" (UN-Habitat 2009). Restoring livelihoods after disasters and displacement is a key to eradicate risks of impoverishment (Pellinen 2012; Cernea 2000). It is also a fundamental element in global involuntary resettlement policies (see e.g. World Bank 2004). Despite of these guidelines, Pellinen (2012) says that in Sri Lanka the national post-tsunami recovery efforts have mainly concentrated on infrastructure improvement and the neoliberal assumption that economic growth and investments will benefit the society at large. This has not, however, been an adequate strategy to ensure rehabilitation after displacement (ibid.). NIRP has not been applied in other resettlement projects and it is not currently in effect. In LEI&CDP, however, it has not been able to fulfill all the expectations projected to it; a great majority of the interviewed women said that their household expenditures had gone up after displacement (18 out of 26), while only four (15%) said that their household has now stable income. Livelihood strategies of family members were various, from carpentry to labor work and sales. Only one family was dependent on common property resources, in this case fishing. Only few had had to change jobs. Expenses

were high especially to those who had not had similar facilities in their previous place; water supply and grid connection to electricity.

> *"In our old house we did not have electricity or water, so now the living costs are higher. It also costs my husband more to go to work. Money is enough to manage daily, but prices are increasing."* –Woman, resettled to Lakeview Garden because of the canal

> *"Our family's economic situation was better in the old house, because it was close to the Galle road and we had a small shop. Husband's job as a salesman was also there. Income level was best in the old house, but worst in temporal housing because we couldn't work at all. Now here we have to take a bus to school and that increases expenses. In the old place we didn't have to take the bus."* – Woman, resettled to Riverside Garden 7 years ago

> *"My husband sells lottery tickets. We can manage with his salary. We have a bank account but no money on it. Every month we are paying our water and electricity bills. It is 4000LKR for electricity here. They will disconnect if we don't pay, so that's why we pay. The tsunami took all our savings and we got a big problem because of that. Also the lottery tickets were in the house. We didn't get any money from the project to start a business."* –Woman, resettled to Riverside Garden 8 years ago from the beach

> *"The expenses are high. We didn't have electricity and water supply in the old house but now we have. But I am still happy that we have those."* –Woman, resettled to Greenview Garden 7 years ago from Angulana beach

All PAPs got official bank accounts for the compensation installments. According to project management, also tsunami-victims got access to banking, and in terms of social status this was a major improvement. However, in 2013 only four households had the account in an active use. The majority said that they have the account but simply no money on it. Only one woman said that she has her own account in use, others had shared accounts. Out of the tsunami-displaced persons only one household had a functioning bank account. Furthermore, only two of the interviewed women had their own source of income. Five women said that they would like to work. Besides the two self-employed women, all others (24/26) were dependent on other family members' income and/or occasional gifts and assistance from

neighbors. According to the UN-Habitant consultant, there were programmes for livelihood restoration. However, only one woman said that she has participated in vocational training provided by the project, and has found it difficult to get employed even with such skills. Commonly the income earner was the husband, occasionally also son, daughter, mother, father or grandparents. 31 % of the respondents said that the level of income in the household had dropped significantly after displacement. On the other hand, most had been able to maintain their old jobs. Out of the working population, most were self-employed or infromal (see figure 15). Only one respondent said that they had been able to upgrade, because her husband changed jobs. Generally, the loss of income did either link into the physical displacement, destruction caused by the tsunami, or economic structural changes, such as less demand for carpentry.

> *"In the old house I was working, but in here I stay more inside. I would like to work but I cannot because of the sick mother and children. There are three people working in this household. The money is enough to eat but it's difficult to pay for electricity. Our income is not stable. We spend more money here even though our income level is the same. Also food prices have gone up."* –Woman, resettled to Hike Terrace 4 years ago from Ratmalana

> *"I stopped working after marrying and now I cannot work because of my daughter. Also my mother stopped working because she has to take care of our grandmother. Now we have my husband's stable income and a small shop from which we get 150LKR a day."* –Woman, resettled to Riverside Garden 8 years ago

Figure 15 Self-employment. Most households have been able to maintain old sources of income, such as carpentry. On the other hand, female employment rate was very low.

Overall, the women's economic situation had stayed the same or worsened after displacement, but this was commonly the consequence of marrying or carrying a child (10 out of 26), or getting sick and old (2/26). One woman had lost her shop in the tsunami and had been unable to recover. Two women

said that the loss of land had a negative effect into their capacity of growing crops. Three women said that health issues had started after resettlement and now required most of their finances and time, and were the reason for unemployment. The lack of money also had a direct impact into the ways in which the women spent their leisure time; majority of them said that they don't do much as there is no extra to spend or places to go. Only three women said that they make trips or have holidays, but these too were a rare occasion (once or twice a year). Only one woman said that she goes to Colombo city for leisure. Despite of the support from project management, it seems that female employment rate has not increased due to the community development.

6.3 Community development

Not only economic recovery, but also the strengthening of social capital and citizen participation build back better societies after disasters (Nagakawa & Shaw 2004). This is also a key element in theorizations and policy recommendations concerning development-induced displacement (Cernea 2000; Mehta 2009; World Bank 2004). One crucial element to achieve this is to provide the tools and resources for the community to empower and rebuild. In LEI&CDP, a public community help center was established during the project. According to

Figure 17 An empty playground

Figure 16 Unused community hall

project management, information centers and active engagement of citizens into the project were the keys to success and distinguish LEI&CDP from other resettlement projects. Also CEPA researchers claimed that participatory approach to displacements is actively enquired by residents elsewhere. However, the community information center did not run anymore while we visited the sites. Also smaller community halls were constructed, but none of the respondents said that they use them actively (see figure 17). Streets were common places for meetings. Playgrounds were commonly misused, and parents did not like their children to go

there (see figure 16). PAPs were encouraged to establish CBOs in order to manage the physical environment, micro-loans and enhance grassroots development. There were community group activities and/or women's societies to some extent in all of the four sites. 16 women said that there was some sort of communal activity in their site. A group was working best in Lakeview Garden, where the CBO governed common funds for wastewater management and distributed micro-loans;

> *"I knew the people when we moved here. […] We have community meetings once a month. The CBO is good because the toilet pits get cleaned and we can get loans. We didn't have such meetings and society in the old place."* – Woman, resettled to Hike Terrace 4 years ago from Ratmalana canal banks

CBOs are a way to empower people, and some tasks have been directed to them. Financing is the responsibility of all residents, but this can also create lack of trust and willingness if the general sense of community has not formed yet. 10 out of 26 respondents said that they take part in groups and meetings. However, there was also mixed feelings on the functions and delivery of the CBOs;

> *"There is no community group or society here but also there was not one on the beach. We tried to start one but not everyone agreed. The people in here cannot get together. These people have different ideas here, different thinking. There is no proper way to do it and there is no project support. If there is trouble then some families get together and we decide. In the beach side everybody could discuss together."* –Woman, resettled to Riverside Garden 8 years ago

> *"There is nobody to talk to about [the problems], everybody comes to me but I have nobody to tell forward because the project is over. There was a plan to employ one person from each community in the municipal council to bring these issues forward. For example, to clean the toilet pit we need to collect 50,000LKR together. But not everybody wants to participate, and then there is an argument. The CBO money went as loans and now there is not enough money to clean the pit."* –Husband, CBO president, resettled 5 years ago to Hike Terrace from canal banks

> *"There are community funds, but we are insecure about how we will use and protect them. And what about when that money is finished? CBO has funds worth*

2 lakhs [200,000LKR], and after finishing that money everyone has to pay 50,000LKR for the sewer system. The problem is that the families are not together, and nobody gives the money […]. We thought that the project officers would come and solve this problem but now they have all gone. […] We are in the CBO to prevent people using drugs in this area. If the CBO is there, they cannot do it [bad things]." –Woman, CBO president, resettled to Lakeview Garden

A few residents said that they hoped the project would have had some contingency, as issues had started to emerge. The major issue was the social disarticulation and the inability of residents to either decide upon matters, or even cooperate with each other. 18 out of 26 respondents said that they had some sort of social problems within the neighborhood. The project manager acknowledged this and said that better considerations should have been put into gradual detaching, as now there seems to be some sort of dependency relation. He also emphasized that "the real project starts now", referring to the abilities of people to develop and improve from within. Community development was significantly easier to those who said that they knew the neighbors prior moving, or had managed to establish proper social networks;

"I know the neighbors and we spend time together. Like New Year's festival. Everybody gets together, 62 households, everyone gets together. I didn't know anybody before moving here. […]In here we have meetings twice a week, in each other's houses. All the residents are tsunami victims so we can get together and do things." –Woman, resettled to Riverside Garden 9 years ago from Moratuwa

Many PAPs did not have a subjective understanding on how the displacement process was carried out in LEI&CDP. Meetings were targeted to head of households only. Those who had had the opportunity attended the meetings. Participatory methods of officers included also personal visits. The community mobilizer said that this was a long-term process as residents were visited frequently. The PAPs said that they had the opportunity to either get a larger compensation and resettle off-site independently, or agree with one of the four sites, when compensation was smaller but land purchased beforehand. Because of resident opposition, the original project plan to construct multi-storey apartment blocks was abandoned (UN-Habitat 2009). As for the tsunami-displaced people, the land plots were pre-selected, and they had less bargaining power. Few women said they were disappointed and tried to avoid displacement from the start, but nonetheless half (13/26) of the residents said they were

satisfied with the ways in which the process was implemented and want to stay in the site permanently. Also the UN-Habitat consultant believed that resettlement has been successful as people have had the option to choose between off-site and on-site migration, and have received extensive economic and social assistance. The Sevanatha representative as well as CEPA researchers said that Lunawa is significantly better in the sense of community participation and negotiation of compensation, and that there are many aspects in the on-going displacement projects that should be learned from it. They also addressed that the integration of NIRP policy into the project is a major positive determinant. The project manager and UN-Habitat consultant said that LEI&CDP serves now as a pilot project where others can and should learn from. Evidently citizens elsewhere have claimed resident consultation and participation to be crucial for them, but only few interviewed residents in LEI&CDP addressed this in particular.

> *"There is no community group here. We had meetings before moving but the project workers just said that they needed the land. Now there should be a community hall or some place to discuss. The police is not enough to deal with drug dealers and thieves. So we need to solve things individually. I really restricted this displacement but I could not do anything. It is unfair for not getting anything for the land. The project officials need to come here and see the problems."* –Woman, resettled to Greenview Garden 7 years ago from Angulana

> *"The project people told us that we would get this house and land. I didn't think of having a house here or have anything… So we are happy. I feel ok about the project. And I am happy because we have our own place."* – Woman, resettled to Greenview Garden 7 years ago from Angulana beach

The previous names of each site (Hikgahawatta, Bahinathotawatta, Peerugahawatta, Munagahawatta, Nugewatta, Pairugahawatta and Dombagahawatta) have been renewed in order to also make a mental statement of upgrading into a formal, middle-class settlement. *Watta* in Sinhala means a shanty or substandard housing. Instead the new English names have a connotation to more wealthy and spacious suburbs. According to project management, the change of status and mindset is crucial in proper resettlement. However, only three residents said that they feel there is now a difference in how people treat them or see them after moving into formal housing. They felt proud for being now more official citizens. None of the interviewees associated themselves with Colombo or the metropolitan area per se. All others

agreed that access to public services or the ways in which outsiders perceive them have stayed the same. However, they did not imply whether this was a positive or a negative thing. One woman said that the stigma is still present, and that she was unable to get a job because of that. It is evident that the outlook of the sites has improved compared to the secondary source footage I received, and current slums in the beach strip.

Five women said that there is a severe drug problem in the area, and thefts were also common. Economic situation, community disarticulation and environmental deterioration all considered, community development has not succeeded in meeting its' goals in LEI&CDP. The project manager at UDA and UN-Habitat consultant agreed that generally in such projects in CMR more emphasis is put into the technical components, and the resources and skills to deliver to community development are often insufficient. However, LEI&CDP should be an exception in this sense.

6.4 Sense of place and belonging

Sense of place and sense of community are strongly linked into the question of community development and social wellbeing. Sense of place is constructed through physical attachments (*rootedness*) but also social interactions (*bondedness*) (Hay 1998). Therefore the questions on social relations and networks, which are essential also in Speak's framework, support the analysis on whether or not a community had formulated in the resettlement sites, and what elements are essential in that development. Perceptions of a place also reflect to the social sphere of everyday life. The respondents had lived in the area approximately 7,2 years, which is a short time in terms of the sense of place and/or community to develop (Hay 1998).

Firstly, the loss of social safety nets is a common risk in displacements (Mehta 2009; Cernea 2000). In this case, 19 respondents said that their kinship and/or neighbor relations had been disturbed because of resettlement. This was a high concern for most, as they were used to getting assistance with daily tasks, as well as monetary aid in case of need. Informal sources of help are a key survival strategy for women in poor communities (Matous & Ozawa 2010).

> *"Our earlier place was good. In here I don't have place for the children and we cannot live freely. So we close the door and hide inside. There is a lot of trouble outside. In Ratmalana our relatives were living close by and we didn't have to close the door. I still visit my family there every day. We were very close with the neighbors there and exchanged help."* –Woman, resettled to Lakeview Garden from Ratmalana

69 % of the respondents said that they experience social problems in the new neighborhood. The most common issue was that other people were "too different" or "thinking differently". Also project management said that this was recognized, and community host consultation was implemented to ease out adaptation. None of the respondents mentioned this, other efforts in community harmonization. So, the reconstruction of otherness after resettlement was evident in daily interaction with the neighbors. Consequently, only half (13) of the interviewees said that they have managed to build new friendships and relations to neighbors, and/or they knew the people prior moving in. The social disarticulation was materialized in not only the inability of the communities to maintain the physical environment and to run community groups, but also in conflicts and arguments. Few people said that they need to go to the police in order to solve problems, but many also admitted that they didn't dare to intervene, as they were afraid of the situation only going worse.

> *"When we speak freely we get problems. We have no community meetings. If I talk, I get problems with the person I am talking with. And no one is coming and trying to solve the problem. The neighbors are trying but they are not getting together."* –Woman, resettled to Lakeview Garden 6 years ago from Lakshapati

> *"In our old place we stayed in our own area. In here the houses are close [to each other], and some people play music loudly. That is disturbing. Other people put loud music in the evening, and they are not even staying in their own homes. They are closing the roads. The temple is nearby and sometimes the priest calls the police and then they stop [playing the music]. But when the police have gone, they play again. When I try to talk about this the neighbors argue and start to fight."* –Woman, resettled to Riverside Garden 7 years ago

If friendships were established, they were often rather superficial compared to the strong kinship relations in the previous settlement. Even if people ran into arguments and conflicts, they still said they had some sort of relationship, or at least managed to discuss less important things. Most respondents also said that I case of need, they do exchange help from neighbors, but this is not frequent.

> *"We don't borrow money here, we only do it in the old area from friends. I don't borrow money here because I am not familiar with these people. So we borrow money from old friends. In our free time we stay at the house with the kids, because the kids don't want to go out with the other children. […] My relatives*

moved 60kms away because of the tsunami, but these neighbors became friends to us. We lived close to the relatives before the tsunami, but now we don't meet anymore that often. But we call each other. I like to talk with the neighbors and attend meetings with the women's society, is also parties and weddings and so on." –Woman, resettled to Riverside Garden 7 years ago

"Only three or four houses here are resettled. The rest are tsunami victims. Of those there are only three or four good families. All the others are shouting and all that. We don't have a strong relationship with the neighbors, but have some, still. If we have some difficulties, then they will help. Other than that we just smile. We don't visit each other's houses." –Woman, Resettled to Hike Terrace 7 years ago from Ratmalana

Figure 18 Personalized housing and plants as fences

Massey says that a place only rarely anymore equates with a (single) community (1994: 163–164). Instead, as an outcome of mobile cultures and societies, places can hold several smaller social formations that associate as unambiguous units. This is what has evidently happened also in the resettlement process in Lunawa. 19 residents said their social networks and kinships have been scattered and disturbed. The ties to the old place and community are materialized in weekly or monthly visits to the previous place of residence. In this way, displacement extends the boundaries of communities physically, but also challenges the sense of belonging and rehabilitation to a new area. Simultaneously the sense of old place as a home is reformatted. All those who had to separate with their relatives due to displacement wished that they had been able to resettle closer to them. All but two one respondents said that they are still connected to their relatives and the old place, and visit them frequently.

There seemed to be an evident division of people based on their place or community of origin. Those who knew each other prior resettlement had fewer difficulties in integrating. PAPs, who were the 'original' resettlers, often considered tsunami-displaced people as more outsiders. On the other hand, CEPA researcher and a local social architect claimed that social mixing will contribute to development and gentrification. Elements mentioned that enforced otherness were loud music, shouting, bad language, bad habits and low level of education. The construction of new social networks is slow and the differentiating norms and cultures make it hard to do so.

> *"The tsunami victims should not be here, it would be better that way. But I don't know how it should be done. The original resettled people are nice. The problems started when the tsunami victims came here. Their language is not good and they are very loud."*–Woman, resettled to Hike Terrace 11 years ago

The reconstruction of familiar sense of place and sense of belonging was difficult to integrate into the interviews. It was understood from the start that the concept should not be brought up directly, but is more or less constructed and expressed via different aspects of everyday life such as social relations, sense of safety, level of rehabilitation, and the level of which to invest to the property and decide over it. Questions of being an insider or outsider were difficult for the locals to understand, but a few still referred to this. For the tsunami-displacees the sense of community was easier to reconstruct because they shared experiences and emotions of the disaster. This is a crucial element in re-establishing sense of community and trust (Chigeza et al. 2014).

> *"The problem is that we are coming from another village, we are strangers here. We are coming from another place."* –Woman, resettled to Lakeview Garden

> *"The old place where we were living in was a village, and everybody knew each other. In here people act differently. It is very difficult to survive without neighbors' help. We didn't have all this trouble when we were living in the old place*." –Woman, resettled to Hike Terrace 6 years ago from canal banks

> *"Because we are all tsunami victims, so we knew each other because of that. If we didn't have that tsunami experience we would not know anybody. It did help in settling down in here."* –Husband, resettled 9 years ago from Moratuwa town

Going back to Hay's theorizations (1998), the time spent in a place affects to the depth of sense of place. The community mobilizer rationalized the social problems by saying that eventually it will get better:"I think because they have lived here such a short time, that's why they have troubles. Maybe in 10 or 15 years it will change". Also the other architect claimed that Sahaspura housing scheme has appeared as a failure, but possibly the next generation living there will adapt better. Similarly, the ownership status might have an impact. So far none of the residents have obtained the deeds. It is possible that once ownership status is legitimized and access to formal services, such as housing loans, get easier, also the mentality of a place changes eventually. Despite the social problems experienced, most people were satisfied with the physical outcome of the project and valued the house and home as the most important place. Similarly, many respondents did say that the temple or the church was important for them, linking it to tsunami assistance, social relations and leisure time.

Figure 19 Burnt trash in Lakeview Garden. Environmental maintenance is not always agreed on

6.5 Gender roles and gendered space

Generally the question presented to key stakeholders about gender sensitivity in involuntary displacements in Sri Lanka was perceived either as unimportant, or crucial yet challenging. This strengthens the hypothesis that it was reasonable to have the gender perspective emphasized in this study, as the distinction between the public discourse and the alternative, even feminist point of view, is wide.

The UN-Habitant consultant claimed that gender perspective in LEI&CDP was addressed via community development. Joint ownership of property and land was one of the project priorities in ensuring gender sensitivity. At least 12 households had shared ownership between the spouses. It was also common that widowed women owned the property on their own. However, only few women said that this had had any effect into their lives, neither positively nor negatively. This is presumably because the whole household was perceived as a unit instead of considering individual gains. The investigation of inheritance patterns and property

ownership norms in this sense was challenging and beyond resources, as they are a complex mixture of procedures (Scalise 2009: 64–70). Overall, joint ownership was provided as an outcome of resettlement in LEI&CDP despite the culturally and socially applicable norms. In a few instances the respondents said they felt empowered and more equal compared to men now that they shared ownership. According to most gender-sensitive policy recommendations, joint ownership and recognition of gender in resettlement planning and implementation is one of the most crucial aspects to ensure equality and sustainability (Mathur 2009). Finally, the SSA researcher said that the appreciation of women's rights is against the conservative culture, and this is also the reason gender perspective is lacking in urban politics and resettlement projects in the country in general. This might also reflect to households as well. Such issues do not threat the state, but the active group pushing them is still rather small. In the fundamental public discourse a good woman is the one who stays at home. On the other hand, the CENWOR representative said that women were very active in tsunami restoration, partly due to their role as micro scale household heads.

In the case study site, women were usually spending considerable amount of time at home. All interviewed women said that they spend their time mostly in the house, including their leisure time. In only two instances the women emphasized that they would gladly spend free time outside the house if there were some convenient options. The women who had been living in crowded underserved settlements with very little space and assets said that they used to spend more time outside house, but this had changed after the resettlement. The reason to spend time outside the house was, unambiguously, the lack of space and poor quality of assets. As a result, in the resettlement site with improved infrastructure, quality of property and assets, there was no need to go out. Many women also said that they preferred staying inside because of the other people and conflicts with them. They also pointed out their duties as caretakers, and could not go out spontaneously. Consequently, home as a gendered space was automatically reconstructed in the interviewees' narratives. Gender perspective in this sense was also useful because the women were well aware of the social relations and tensions in the neighborhoods, usually because they tended to spend more time there and were more dependent on the networks and assistance received from other residents. Generally in Sri Lanka, women take care of the household, elderly and children, and the everyday concerns related to them were covered in conversations. The location pre- and post-displacement had evidently impact on the women's abilities to carry out household tasks and in the ways in which they perceived the new environment and their role in it.

What also have effect into how the women spend their time are the social and cultural norms that prevail in Sri Lanka, and direct that married women, especially when having children, should stay at home as housewives. Only two interviewed women were employed. It was unquestioned that they could have also been working while leaving the children to daycare with relatives or neighbors. Even in the most impoverished households the women would only be self-employed part-time, and at house. A researcher in SSA said that despite of the significant progress in gender equality, the society is still conservative and patriarchal norms dominate. In the household level women have power in decision-making and managing income, but their role as homemakers is unchallenged. Even the LEI&CDP project manager suggested that new ways should be found to employ women, but these should not challenge the conventional relationship between a woman and a home. Furthermore, these gendered divisions of labor and gendered spaces were reconstructed again in the discussion of leisure time, of which only very few admitted to spend outside home. This was either the question of expenses and income, the question of lack of services or also the question of how, where and why should women seek for free time outside the house.

> *Because of the neighbors, people are thinking differently. We can't raise children here. The society is moving on and we can't raise children in the right way. The people are having some bad habits here. […] I think my place was better, in our home in Homagama we had 15 perch land and we could live by our own. There people didn't do such things. However, we are planning to stay here, because my husband's job is very easy here. Home is the most important place for me.* – Woman, resettled 10 years ago to Hike Terrace from Katubedda

> *"Daily, I am not going anywhere. I only go up and down [in the house]. Why? Because it's no good to go out. When I stay inside, my sons also stay here. If I go out, they also go out. Then my husband asks where my sons are. My husband doesn't want me to go out. After six o'clock we all have to stay at home. Because of the bad environment."* –Woman, resettled to Lakeview Garden

On a larger discourse it is interesting that many male family members who participated in the conversations said that the mother has a significant amount of power in the household. "She makes all the decisions" and "she is the head of the family" were common arguments. Also few interviewed experts denied the need to address gender more in the context of displacements and urban poverty eradication, as women are already in such a valued position

in the society. On the other hand, gender specialists and experts in Colombo opposed this strongly by claiming that the perceptions are deeply rooted and hardly criticized, and are therefore renewed over and over again.

6.6 Urban planning and displacements

There were no questions on urban planning trends and attitudes targeted to the interviewed resettlers as this was assumed to be beyond their understanding and interest. Also the topic did not suit the everyday life framework conveniently. On the other hand, the scarce reflections to the current phenomenon of development-induced displacements in the capital area, and very little association with Colombo city overall, can be interpreted to reveal the distinction between the urban and rural, and modern and conservative, educated and uneducated, rich and the poor. On the contrary, many experts addressed the wider debate on urban displacements to be very topical and accurate also in the discussion on the Lunawa project and in understanding its position in the larger context.

Figure 21 Urban regeneration takes place around CMR

Figure 20 Apartment housing near LEI&CDP. High-rise apartments can be up to 13 floors.

A university professor claimed that the change in policy paradigm and a more pragmatic and project-oriented attitude in the leadership of Ministry of Defence and Urban Development Gotabaye Rajapaksa has indicated more implementation and action, and this means that the displacement of 66,000 households in CMC alone is in the pipeline. Due to the dual nature of the ministry, the army is utilized in the realization of those plans. In general, the participatory aspect of urban displacements is materialized in a sense that people have the access to press charges and complaints, but the responsibility of those actions is externalized from the authorities in charge to the lower level. The rationales behind displacements include i) eradication of slums and shanties, ii) flood control in the city, and iii) attraction of investments

and city beautification. Reports and studies conducted by local NGOs and CEPA support this argument (CPA 2014; Fernando et al. 2009). Because of this three-step justification, there were mixed opinions on whether LEI&CDP fits with the current policy paradigm. On the other hand the reasons to implement the project are similar, yet the way in which it was carried out is outstanding in the Sri Lankan context where NIRP is no longer applied. According to most experts interviewed, the current displacement processes in CMR lack participatory approach and fundamental dialogue with residents, and in this sense the discarded NIRP did bring many improvements in LEI&CDP target groups compared to other slum dwellers now under threat. The provision of high-rise apartments does improve the physical assets of slum dwellers, but lack cultural sensitivity and proper recovery measures in which the communities can actually develop into middle-income settlements.

> *"You cannot expect them to fit into that category [middle class]. There should be a proper program for them to upgrade their lifestyles. In parallel to this physical thing. There should be another very well organized program, like lectures, visits to their places, they [projects workers] have to look after them to come up to that level. By only giving them a house, things will not get solved. That is the lacking feeling of all these communities."* –Social architect

Interestingly, the wider scope of national development and urban regeneration was mostly appreciated by the key stakeholders. Most of them agreed that issued caused by the urban sprawl (such as pollution, traffic jams and flooding) should be taken care of, and in this sense the physical constructions are welcome. Also, Sri Lanka now tries to kick-start its economy again after the civil war, and desperately needs a boost not only physically but also psychologically.

7 Discussion

This research is not a project evaluation. However, it is essential to assess some of the project components and their delivery, as they are closely reflecting to the experiences of everyday life of the interviewed women who are, after all, the target group of LEI&CDP. It seems that the project has put more effort, in both planning and implementation, on the 'Storm Water Drainage Improvement' –component. This is evident also in project evaluation and documents. 'Community Development' –component was implemented as an outcome of NIRP policy guidance, and being a pilot project in this sense there were not many local nor

national examples to learn from or reflect to. The benefit of an infrastructure project is that it is, seemingly, easy to put into realization and evaluate later on. On the other hand, community development is a complex task not only because of the width of the scale, but also because it cannot be perceived as having one-end tools or aims. Certainly the community dynamics and the wider stance of the resettlement process, as well as the status of the slum dwellers in the urban social and political sphere of CMR, have an impact on the delivery of the project. Economic recovery, access to services, crucial livelihood assets, and some tools to enhance community participation have been delivered with mixed outcomes. On the other hand, none of the respondents had impoverished significantly due to the resettlement alone. Few households had major economic problems, but these were due health issues and/or the inability of relatives to look after them. However, the level of rehabilitation and recovery could have been significantly better if social networks and relations had been considered, and if the residents' capacity to interact and communicate with each other had been addressed to a larger extent. Furthermore, the incorporation of the tsunami-affected people has been simultaneous and rather unplanned, which shows that thorough evaluation of the rehabilitation by the implementing party is still lacking. Donor-driven housing in Sri Lanka has been proved to be insufficient in responding to the needs of the resettlers (Pellinen 2012), and also in this case the social mixing of people disturbed the formulation of sense of place and community, and further the capacity to recover to a pre-settlement state.

7.1 Key findings and their reflection to literature

The primary issue and justification for the displacements in the first place was the state of the environment and more particularly the polluted and insufficient water infrastructure that consequently caused frequent flooding and economic damages as well as health issues to residents. According to the plans, the look of the four areas has improved as well as the infrastructure and the state of the environment (UN-Habitat 2009). The physical assets have improved, and especially for the tsunami-displaced people the gains were significant. The physical environment is now more suitable for the eradication of other issues commonly associated with underserved settlements, such as shanty dwellings, garbage, and lack of formal services. On the other hand, in the negotiation of physical assets people have had to give up their space and privacy. The new resettlement sites do not imitate the appreciated conditions and features that people have had in the previous place, such as yard and extra rooms. On the other hand, the negative qualities had vanished to a large extent. Extended families are a common household structure in Sri Lanka, but often resettlement housing is

dense and does not consider such cultural dimensions (Hirschon 2000). However, for the tsunami-displaced people, new housing was a major uplift compared to the temporal housing and/or camps. All in all, despite the fact that physical assets have improved, the mindset, habits, norms, economic situation or social development have not followed. Underserved settlements are much more than only their appearance and concrete problems, such as environmental issues, but include also the question of the people's status and position in the society, their ability to empower and to adapt, and to rebuild new spaces, places and communities of trust.

In all resettlement sites, there are still some very poor households. Generally, the economic status of the neighborhoods is barely lower-middle class. The old income gaps prevail, only now people have been settled to same sites. This causes social and cultural collisions and deteriorates the communities' abilities to develop from within. Those displaced people, who were originally struggling with daily survival, have not been able to lift themselves out of income poverty, and have merely restored their livelihoods. The better-off households have generally slightly impoverished. As a positive consequence, there seems to be no pattern of severe impoverishment, which is something Cernea has suggested rather strongly (2000). This is likely the outcome of better implemented participatory approach and community development; bargaining power over where to move and somewhat sufficient entitlement packages. As for the tsunami victims, their original situation was rather poor, and benefited because of this. Female employment rate among the respondents is low, but this can also be explained by the time of the visits (during the day when many must have been out working) and conventional gender roles that normalize women's role as homemakers. Community-based livelihood sources such as carpentry, which is common in Moratuwa, have diminished their dominance and have not been able to impact into community employment and building social relations. Also fishing industry was not common among the households. These economic structural shifts are not directly related to the displacement and resettlement itself, but would have had significant potential in livelihood recovery efforts. Furthermore, the delivery of project-run employment programmes and trainings was almost non-existent among the respondents. It is necessary to point out that the heterogeneous scale of employment is common in urban areas, and underserved settlements rarely rely on only few income sources. All in all, the income status of the displacees has remained stagnant with no significant changes. In the discourse of slum upgrading, this would be insufficient.

Community assets have been provided by the project. These include the guidance in establishing CBOs, community halls, clean environment and access to services. However, due to social disarticulation people have been unable to utilize those assets. Social issues and the lack of sense of community have caused severe contradictions between groups of people as well as between individuals. The level of security does not stem from the community but from formal sources of assistance, which is paradoxical given the general theorizations that people in underserved settlements rely on personal and kin networks (Hirschon 2000), and feel like the formal society has excluded them. Currently, the social networks that have formed in the resettlement sites are rather superficial, and in serious matters, such as in need of loan, people opt for their community of origin. However, some activities do take place, and in some areas CBOs are running and communities cooperate. In Riverside Garden, which is mainly inhabited by tsunami-displaced people, social interaction is positive and sense of community is reconstructed through the shared experiences and trauma that tie people together. The experience from Riverside Garden supports the understanding given by Chigeza et al. (2014).

The legitimization of (former) slum dwellers has helped to establish a new sense of place to some extent, but the lack of deeds denies inhabitants the full access to formal housing markets and functioning and developing society. Nyametso (2012) says that the access to secure tenure enables investments into property and thus increases wellbeing, poverty eradication and social belonging to a community and/or to a place. The security of tenure has, indeed, more implications than only access to loans and schools, as it would also provide the people the opportunity to choose their place of living, let alone their community of immediate interaction. At the moment, people are stuck in the resettlement sites with only partial ownership, which makes the question of the extent of tenure more complicated. In a way the opportunity to choose between off-site resettlement and the resettlement sites is now being withdrawn. By not providing the final legitimatization, the authorities hold the power over personal decisions that have a direct impact into recovery and everyday life of the already marginalized group of people. This lack of power and confrontation with authorities can, potentially, increase distrust. Security of tenure is foremost a question of power, and in this case it is irrational to deny it since it is one of the NIRP requisites and a key project component. Also extensive amount of literature suggest this. It is possible that the discussion of deeds is used as a political tool for a power struggle of a larger scale. The inhabitants do not have much to negotiate with, and therefore either sell out illegally, or remain waiting. The denial of deeds threats to undermine other improvements gained in the project. The lack of

access to loans is one of the key elements hindering development and investments, and can have multiple long-term outcomes. It is also worth addressing that despite of the participatory approaches and extensive community consultation, still half of the interviewees did not express being satisfied with the current living situation.

Hirschon says that the sense of community and development-from-within can also be born as a consequence of the perceptions of 'otherness' and marginalization by the original inhabitants (2000). Furthermore, places are the characterized with those prejudices and negative attachments that are typical to the 'others' (ibid.). In LEI&CDP it seems that the PAPs consider themselves more as the rightful resettlers, while 'tsunami people' are the ones causing troubles and maladaptation. The reconstruction of otherness and formulation of distinguished groups within the sites have now materialized when people have been involuntarily directed to live together. The consideration of outsiders and insiders in the Sri Lankan society, especially in a village-like environment, remains and has not been able to adapt to the unfixed living patterns and structures of everyday modern life where communities and places are no longer attached to one another and can change throughout the life cycle (Dayarathna & Sawarawickrama 2003; Massey 1994). On the other hand, sense of place and community are still important factors in poor displaced communities that have received insufficient assets and assistance in adapting to the new place and lifestyle. Social safety nets commonly should replace those insufficiencies. What is evident from the analysis of the interviews is that the sense of not belonging to the place and community, and the social conflicts and lack of cooperation, have materialized outcomes such as environmental degradation, fighting, arguments, the inability to run CBOs, and thieves, drug users and other hostile factors. On the other hand, shared experiences and common past can help to overcome those. The results of social mixing and its impacts to social development in this sense may need broader examination in the future, as a researcher at CEPA as well as a social architect claimed that bringing people from various backgrounds together will enhance gentrification and development. This case study claims diverse impacts, at least for now. Because of the inability to build security and trust from within the community, the residents rely on formal sources of help in many cases. On the other hand, informal and small-scale cooperation and

assistance is present, and exchange of advice and food is common. It is possible that temporal development will bring improvements in this sense in the future (Hay 1998). The sense of place and community are evidently closely linked to other domains of everyday life that were addressed in the analysis, and they also formulate a tool around which these aforementioned elements are gathered. In this way the sense of place should be built-in in the 'everyday life' framework and the domain of home and neighborhood (see figure 22). Simultaneously, the domain of leisure time could be given less emphasis, as it is not much considered in the daily lives of poor women.

The fact that for most residents the traditional social networks were disrupted means that they commute frequently to their place of origin to meet relatives and friends. In this way the sense of community has extended (Massey 1994). Also the sense of place has reformulated between the current home and old home. Visiting old home and village helps to maintain the networks, as well as place attachments. The collision between traditional and modern, urban and rural, underserved settlements and middle-class housing has mixed outcomes in LEI&CDP. The conservative village-centered lifestyle with gendered norms of household roles is challenged in a society in transition. The residents are confused in identity formation that is determined from the outside. The collision and renegotiation of community and belonging in a transformative Srilankan society is present today (Dayarathna &Sawarawickrama 2003: 108).

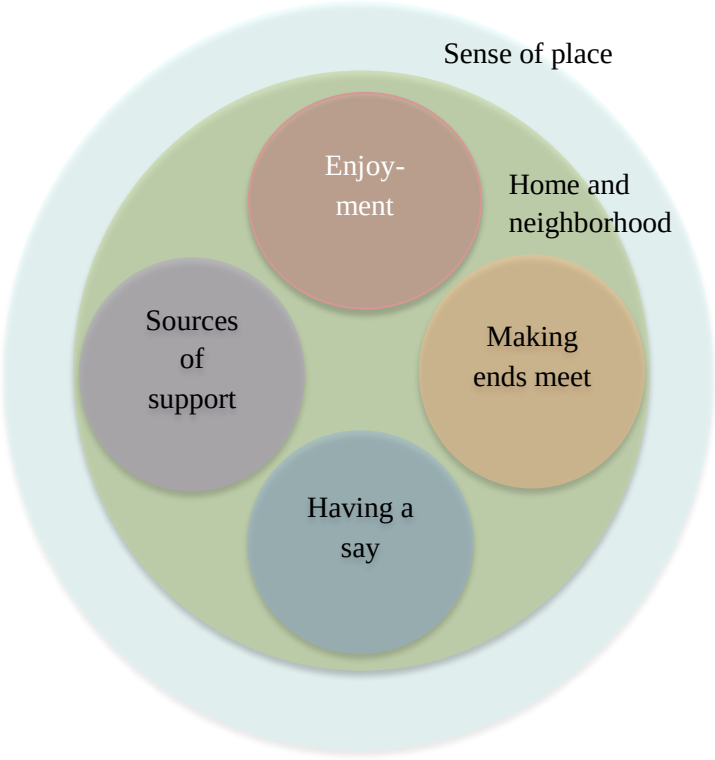

Figure 22 Sense of place incorporating other domains of everyday life framework

Participatory approach in LEI&CDP has evidently supported the process of resettlement, as the opposition to migration has been minimal (Hewawasam 2009). On a longer run the participatory element and its benefits can be lost, if the residents do not have the skills and ability to utilize the assets given. It can also only be used as a political tool (Miraftab 2009), which also seems possible here. Despite of the participatory approach, many were still

disappointed on the situation, but felt that they did not have a channel for complaints. In other words, the inclusive approach to resettlement was run down with the finalization of the project. Also the lack of deeds has mitigated the positive impacts of resettlement and now actually works against the wishes of the residents. This is why it is important to underline that participatory approach in resettlement planning does not only mean the provision of places for communal interaction and empowerment, but also the provision of knowledge and capabilities to do so also later on. It should also aim to support the society as a whole to recognize the needs and desires of slum dwellers equally to the rest of the formal society.

Finally, gender perspective was difficult to maintain in the center of conversations, because the women tended to perceive the questions to consider the whole household. The perceptions of gender roles and space are constructed with the support of participant observation and in-depth analysis of discussions, and they follow the understandings of earlier literature and expert views on women's place and space in Sri Lanka. Evidently the gender roles and norms related to those are rather fixed in the Sri Lankan society, and gender rarely is addressed as an issue in the public discourse. When women are perceived as the extensions or representatives of a household then consequently they do not need to be issued separately in displacement and resettlement processes either. The analysis of the formulation of sense of place fits well with the gender perspective and assessing gendered impacts of resettlement, as women tend to spend more time at home and reconstruct stringer ties to a certain place and community through their everyday life activities. What is surprising in this context is the heterogeneity of opinions in the sense of gender roles in a household level as well as the society in a larger scale. The discourse of feminine dominance and equality is profoundly established in public, and it is partly accurate, but similarly undermines the fundamental distribution between sexes. While Sri Lankan women are more educated and more aware of their rights, there is certainly no smooth alignment with the conventional norms and systems of gender (Jayatilaka & Amirthalingam 2015).

7.2 Sustainable and inclusive resettlement

Nayak says there should be impartial actors to mediate in displacement and resettlement processes, such as NGO's and religious entities (2000: 95). When the subordinated displaced people are confronted with the authorities, the sense of domination increases. Furthermore, when compensation is entitled, consulting the locals of its scope and quality is essential in ensuring sustainability. Those in power usually have the last say also in rehabilitation

measures, and there is no space for complaints (Nayak 2000: 102). It has been witnessed that participatory efforts in resettlement increase the level of sustainability, and it has also been insisted by residents in CMR. In LEI&CDP only 1 per cent of households have pressed charges towards authorities, due to the successful process of inclusive resettlement. However, the participatory approach in the displacement per se does not always ensure longer-term sustainability, or at least automatically erase social problems that stem from forced migration. Patel (2013) says slum upgrading and participatory resettlement are not always straightforward in success, and can easily degrade into conventional housing schemes. Also in LEI&CDP the lack of deeds minimizes the impacts of participatory approach and community development.

There are many policy approaches to ensure no extra vulnerability is caused to the displaced people. The World Bank Operational Policy/Bank Procedure on involuntary resettlement (OP 4.12) from 2004 is a famous framework especially in the context of planned and forced relocation. It aims to guide planners, policy-makers and funding institutions through the complex task of implementing resettlement projects that address and mitigate possible impoverishment risks (2004: 371). OP 4.12 has also been criticized for it has not been able to assist in the recovery process, let alone managed to improve the wellbeing of the displaced (Clark 2009). Furthermore, it is against the Bank's mandate to finance projects that result in displacement (ibid.). OP 4.12 also rarely considers gender in resettlement impacts or planning (Mathur 2009: 173). Nonetheless, globally binding policy guidance is needed to protect IDPs, but it should also be more flexible and pragmatic.

The UNHCR Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (UN OCHA 2001) have more focus on disaster-induced displacements, and it aims to ensure the rights and protection for the affected persons during forced migration. However, the principles do not provide practical follow-up or other guidelines, and their applicability can be questioned for having a shallow content. Besides these global guidance, there are many national policy recommendations and frameworks, such as the currently inactive NIRP. These are important as resettlement processes done with careful risk and reconstruction analysis with considerations to the local community, restoring of livelihoods and social networks can, in fact, have positive inputs to local economy and poverty reduction (Cernea 2000: 14). Also LEI&CDP has attracted significant positive outcomes compared to other development-induced displacements that currently threat to evict more than 66,000 households in CMR alone. Despite the

improvements, also NIRP and other policy frameworks should integrate the questions of sense of place and sense of community better into their action plans. In a worst-case scenario many developments can go awry on a longer run, since in conservative societies the considerations of insiders and outsiders, and the networks built on the sense of belonging, are so dominant. Furthermore, Koening argues, participatory resettlement is challenging since social relations and power hierarchies among different stakeholders are often overlooked (2006). This could mean, for example, that certain cultural norms are not considered or effort has not been put to make resettlement actually inclusive to all. This is a relevant concern, also witnessed in Sri Lanka (Ruwanpura 2009). Generally the policy guidelines emphasize that societies are complex set of networks, causalities and relations, and by considering economic, social, cultural, legal and environmental aspects of resettlement processes can ensure viable rehabilitation. In Sri Lanka, LEI&CDP is evidently the only project that has applied NIRP and has considered gender to some extent. Currently, NIRP is inactivated due to change in the political paradigm.

Urban policies need to address the social aspects of development, such as social justice and social equality, social stability and integration. This means that the poor cannot be excluded or blackened in the city, but should be integrated equally to the urban society (Yiftachel 2009). Casual visits and observation in other resettlement and displacement sites in CMR support the understanding that the on-going urban renewal and slum upgrading is in the center of current urban political debate in Sri Lanka, but that it is not much confronted, at least publically.

7.3 Theoretical issues

One of the major challenges from the start was the integration of tsunami-displaced people and PAPs, and the theorizations linked to the dynamics that are evolved around the displacement and resettlement of both groups and the impacts of those processes. The reasons behind both are different; non-human catastrophe and neoliberal urban planning. It was difficult to erase the dynamics behind, and try to emphasize the impacts instead, which are rather common for both groups. This is how I came up with the theoretical base. Furthermore, the key theory on impacts, which is presented by Cernea (2000), did not seem to fit unambiguously with my case and LEI&CDP as it is, after all, implemented in a participatory manner and many essential elements for sustainable resettlement are actually included in the project. Consequently, Speak's framework for everyday life filled this gap by having more of

an individual gaze that also emphasized gender roles, and was also easier to combine with the theory of sense of place. However, the discourse of sense of place in the context of resettlement is not very dominant, and I only realized the linkage after data collection. Fortunately it seems to contribute to a richer theoretical background and also provides new insights for the conventional understanding on resettlement impacts, especially in the context of gendered impacts. Sense of place is a highly subjective experience, similarly to everyday life activities and emotions. In fact, sense of place is constructed via those activities, and therefore the interlinkage is strong. However, literature on resettlement considers sense of place surprisingly little, and it is also lacking in Cernea's famous IRR framework, as well as major global resettlement policy papers.

It is important to also address the level of involuntary in this context. PAPs had the option to choose between off-site and on-site resettlement. They also managed to affect into the housing plans, and received one-storey housing instead of apartment buildings. These are significant benefits while comparing to other development-induced displacement projects in CMR. However, the residents do not have the option anymore, and many are immobilized into the sites against their will due to the lack of deeds. They have also not been able to construct a housing according to their wishes due to the lack of access to sufficient compensation, loans and land space. On the other hand, most tsunami-displaced people were satisfied with the project, and were happy to move in the first place. However, they did not have the ownership over the decision where to move and when, the size and quality of dwelling, nor the neighborhood. Also, they had to leave their relatives and friends behind, something that was a major negative outcome in terms of social networks and ability to adapt and recreate sense of place and home after a disaster. In both cases the issue of voluntary/involuntary migration is complex. The question has not been much addressed in literature either. Nayak says that: "Every displacement is involuntary in that populations shift because of reasons that are relatively unsuitable or detrimental to their livelihood in a certain context" (2000: 81). The fact that resettlement is eventually an upgraded opportunity for a wealthier living does not erase the nature of forced migration in the first place, and the participatory approach of a resettlement project still cannot justify it in the first place.

7.4 Methodological considerations

There were evidently some difficulties in keeping the interviews personal, and in many instances there were other family members participating. Due to courtesy reasons and small

living space, they were allowed to stay with us. Hierarchies in Sri Lankan society and also household structure are significant, and I did not want to make any further hassle. Unfortunately, then, this prevented some most intimate questions, such as power relations within the household, traditional gender roles and decision making with other family members. Some respondents were seemingly uncomfortable with some questions, so certain issues had to be dropped out. I do not know whether this was due to my presence, the gatekeeper's and translator's, or the occasionally the husbands'. Because of this, perhaps it would have been more appropriate to have a focus group discussion per household. Group discussions with neighbors would have probably been difficult to arrange due to social issues and tension. Despite of the unfixed setting, other household members who were present only participated part time and did not intervene the general tone in the discussions. Therefore, I am referring them as interviews instead of something of a mixture.

The occasional presence of other household members as well as cultural norms made it challenging to pursue with gender perspective in the interviews per se. The orientation in all interviews eventually shifted towards the consideration of the whole household. To my understanding, this was a consequence of the interview structure and questions (many of them signified household economics and assets, for example), the interviewer, and issues with representation and interpretation. The interviewed women seemed to perceive the questions to be targeted more towards everybody, not only themselves, even though they were frequently encouraged to share their own stories. It is also possible that sharing something personal was not appropriate considering the fact that we had just met. This balancing between perspectives also strengthened by understanding of the fact that gender roles in Sri Lanka are still strong, and the woman often equals as the household, mainly because she is in charge of it on a daily basis. Furthermore, the real household head is the male, who can assign the status and power to the female if he so pleases. Also the gender specialists interviewed while in Colombo agreed with this notion, saying that women hold a certain amount of power and especially in the household, but this perception is rather shallow and often makes us ignore the conventional norms.

Besides the focus of the interviews and challenge with gendered questions, also ethnicity caused some reconsiderations. It can be a significant element affecting to the development of sense of community, and inclusion and exclusion in it (Hirschon 2000). In this study ethnic background was not asked about in order to avoid the unintentional insinuation to ethnicity-based contradictions. As a consequence of decades of civil war and nationalist and ethnic

tensions, I did not want to encourage this tension further. On the other hand, ethnicity would have provided a deeper insight and understanding of where the (lack of) sense of place and community stem from in this particular area. Many respondents did say that the temple, which could refer to Buddhism or Hinduism and therefore to Sinhalese, Tamil or Burgher inhabitants, was an important place for them. Some respondents also said they received assistance from the church. Religion does not automatically place one into a certain ethnic background and vice versa, and actually the belief system in Sri Lanka is rather mixed and flexible. Consequently, no conclusion can be made in this sense.

Besides the considerations of the best suitable interview structure and emphasis, it would have provided better understanding of the situation if there had been more time to spend in the sites. Daytime participant observation was probably inadequate in the sense of truly understanding the dynamics and everyday life processes and perceptions of the people. My place of residence was approximately two hours away from Lunawa, which prevented casual visits and further observation. However, the question of time and sufficient data is present in all fieldwork and especially in short-term ethnographic research, and this was acknowledged from the beginning. Furthermore, in this research, going back to data collection was, unfortunately, not possible. This was not a major drawback but would have strengthened the pool of information. It could have possibly provided new insights for comparison if also off-site resettlements were reached as well. On the other hand, it has been acknowledged from the start that no additions in data can be made. Other than that, semi-structured interviews worked well because there were issues emerging that needed to be included later on, such as the questions of the deed, loan arrangements, emphasis of social relations and tension, and general community dynamics. The expert interviews, then, were more difficult to integrate with the analysis from the resettlement sites. This was mainly because the topics of discussion were too broad, and many interviewees could not link the current events with LEI&CDP. The general discussions on urban planning and development policies in this sense work more as a background information, not the focus in itself. The abovementioned methodological issues emerged only after the fieldwork period, when the focus of the study was sharpened and the question on sense of place included more thoroughly. This indicated that the general discussion on urban development and policies in CMR would be less emphasized as it also did not suit the bottom-up feminist approach of this study accordingly.

7.5 Ethics in the field

Implementing fieldwork especially in a cultural space so unfamiliar to us is never unproblematic. Several things need to be considered, and unequal power relations and hierarchies are constantly present. In development geography, ethical issues have to be carefully understood and eliminated to the best of abilities. When trying to represent the realizations of dualism, subordination and inequality in the field, the researcher must hold up to this thought also in his/her own work. This is why self-representation and contestation is significant. Also in here I want to point out some ethical issues that have arisen during the fieldwork period, and also afterwards.

The question of power is essential in this case study. As a researcher, the structure of the study is set by me. Using semi-structured interviews as the key data collecting method does give power to the respondents to some extent, but eventually the researcher sets the boundaries and focus. When conducting research with a marginalized population it is crucial not to enforce the power hierarchies purposively. The postcolonial past of Sri Lanka reflects to the ways in which westerners are perceived. Therefore power relations are constructed not only from the researcher-researched nexus, but also from the westerner-local point of view. The reproduction of a non-western world by a westerner can justifiably be criticized (Crang & Cook 2007: 26–29). Also the powerful status of a young woman in a society where gender roles are fixed can have an impact. My status was also questioned several times as locals presumed I had ties to local politicians and/or project implementation team, and could assist resettlers financially or politically. Such prejudices are common in ethnographic research (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007: 63). Whether this misunderstanding had any effect in to their responses remains uncertain. On the other hand, the aim of the study was to let the participants lead the conversations according to their interests, and this objective was also achieved at times. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) emphasize that the re-negotiation of power and identities is common as the roles might reformulate rather quickly. Redirecting power to the interviewee is, still, often the best strategy (ibid: 116). The re-negotiated identity was true also as I was the outsider, the *pitagamkaraya*, who entered and requested information in their homes. Being the only non-local, I was actually completely dependent on the people accompanying me. So, when stepping into the unfamiliar place and space, the hierarchies are renegotiated and ambiguous. In the *constructivist* point of view, science represents current power relations and therefore further creates and continues certain structures (Häkli 1999).

Because of this more emphasis should be put into counter hegemonic approaches. Despite the fact that I wanted to underline feminist approach in this research, certain paradigms remain.

Further ethical considerations are raised due to the question of interpretation and representation, not only in the case of the translator, but also in the analysis and discussion on results. The fact that recordings and transcripts were supported with field notes strengthens the pool of data and, hopefully, also minimized the risk of misinterpretation. However, when considering the differences in cultural background and norms, age, nationality, educational status, gender, ethnicity and whatnots, it is obvious that certain things can be lost in translation. The impact of all these features to interpretation is called *positionality*. The position of a researcher is never completely impartial. Values and background evidently construct and shape the thinking, usually subconsciously, which is further seen in the study results (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007: 15). Research is a constant (self) reflection process. I realized this also during the analysis, and am not accusing this study to be an absolute truth of a one localized phenomenon, but rather a representation of what has been produced by a small case study. Fortunately it seems that the analysis of the case does support earlier theorizations of resettlement impacts, and also contributed further ideas into how it should be studied in the future.

Not only my presence, but also the gatekeeper's and the translator's role had some impact on the pace and quality of the study. The gatekeeper was familiar to the project but also to the local people, and had a certain status and power within the resettled communities. This was obvious in at least two instances, when the women seemed uncomfortable answering certain questions about rehabilitation. On the other hand, the gatekeeper had been a part of the original resettlement scheme more than tsunami housing, which increased the subjectivity of opinion. The reconstruction of otherness was constant, also during interviews, and might have biased some answers. The presence and status of the gatekeeper gave mixed outputs, as I was also completely dependent on his presence. This is a common issue that needs to be recognized in all ethnographic research (Crang & Cook 2007: 19–22). So, only one resident denied access. It is possible that not all necessarily wanted to participate but did so because of the gatekeeper's presence. My intention and study focus were made clear, as well as their rights to deny and stop at any point, even though he seemed to pay very little attention to these necessary formalities. The translator, then, was not always focused on the topic and rather unfamiliar with the procedure, and admitted summarizing some answers. The translator held a notable amount of power when transmitting information both ways, but similarly was crucial

for the success of the study. The ethical issue of interpretation is also always present in such fieldwork (Crang & Cook 2007: 22–26).

8 Conclusions

Resettlement, to those who implement it, is a process with planning, assessment, consulting, implementation and (hopefully) evaluation. This perception of a process with a beginning and an end seems to be complex to the receiving end – those who actually pay the price. The reconstruction and development of sense of place and a community are not limited by time. Instead, community development and empowerment, especially in the context of the trauma of displacement, are slow in emerging. The concerns of too short an assisting period and lack of supervision and follow-up from authorities reflects to the fact that rehabilitation is a long process for the residents, and especially in as traumatized context as displacement. The objective of self-empowerment and development through community-based organizations and development councils is innovative and sustainable as such, but as the delivery of those objectives is the responsibility of communities that are yet to reorganize, it can do unexpected damage too. Sustainable resettlement planning and implementation needs to consider the real abilities and relations of people despite renewed development-policy hype that emphasizes self-empowerment and bottom-up solutions. A straightforward assumption that participatory approaches and community development would erase problems in underserved settlements and in displacement are even precipitous. In order to work successfully, a sense of place and community need to be developed, and addressing social relations and networks, as well as cultural norms and habits, are necessary in this sense.

Urban displacements are complex not only due to lack of ownership to land, long distances, dense housing, scattered informal economies, accumulating social problems, and risks for further impoverishment. The deliberated attachments to places and communities are a feature of a modern unfixed society, and this is something urban poor settlements are in the verge of while confronting displacement. Especially in conservative societies where norms and gender roles are tightly tied up with places, the distraction of these needs significant readjustments. So, the abilities of resettlers to adapt to new environments and communities, and to restart homemaking, should be better considered in guiding literature, and also in globally legitimized policy frameworks. The pathway to a modern society is evident not only in how sense of place and sense of community are challenged, but also in the conventional understanding of gender roles and a “woman’s place”. Furthermore, as gender plays a

significant role in the ways in which recovery and rehabilitation are perceived and received, thorough gender perspective should be incorporated in all resettlement planning and implementation.

Development-induced displacements are paradoxical to their victims, because for them improvements rarely occur. The hegemonic public discourse of pro-development might actually hinder underserved settlements' abilities to improve the livelihoods and wellbeing of people while uprooting and scattering social relations, means for income generation, and community cohesion. Upgraded underserved settlements are not necessarily a pathway to a wealthier lifestyle. Improvements in physical infrastructure need maintenance, but this requires an access to knowledge and resources to do so. Furthermore, restructuring community norms and habits to suit new practices is challenging. The concept of development is, after all, filled with western ideologies and values, and it is thus appropriate to question it as such.

Sustainable resettlement and slum upgrading are a hot topic in dense urban areas that are unable to provide sufficient services, infrastructure and basic need for their residents. They should also be addressed better in societies that are speeding up in the pathway to economic growth. In Sri Lanka, neoliberal and authoritarian urban policies are currently looking more into the quantity and physical achievements of urban renewal instead of fundamental improvements of lives in underserved settlements on a longer run. Environmental improvements and slum upgrading are used to justify displacement, but they should also be properly provided if resettlement is necessary. If social cohesion is lacking, it is challenging to preserve the fundamental improvements such as livelihood recovery and upscaling, and environmental maintenance. Furthermore, the integration of heterogeneous groups can be risky in a sense that communities in Sri Lanka are still strongly attached to a place and commonly shared values and norms. This is a valuable concern also in other poor and conservative societies.

While cities in the South attract more migrants, investments and wealth that ever, they can also be sad realizations of insufficient planning and administration, as well as political ignorance. Displacements that are not considerate to all aspects of everyday life of the people can rarely deliver to be sustainable in the future. The degradation of housing schemes due to lack of abilities is a waste of resources, but also stressful for its victims. Ideally, underserved settlements can be scaled-up without displacements, and disaster-victims can receive tools

and resources with generous assistance in order to recover, not only in terms of assets and livelihoods, but also social relations and psychological attachments. Multidisciplinary studies on the integration of such groups, the extent of rehabilitation and the focus on gender in the midst of all this should be encouraged further, as involuntary displacements in urban contexts are getting more common than ever.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Semi-structured interviews with residents in LEI&CDP

1st domain: Home and neighborhood

Preliminary questions:

1) Who are living in this household (if not present)?
2) Where did you live before (if not interviewed at home, also where the current home is)?
3) When did you move to Lunawa (and also to other places)?
4) How long have you been living here?
5) Where did you stay during the construction of your current home?
6) Can you please describe how the resettlement happen?
7) Did you own the house and land you were living in before?
8) Who owns the house and land you are living in now?

Further questions:

9) If you owned the house and land you were living in before, how did you feel when they were taken away from you?
10) How has the ownership or the lack of it affected to you and your family's life? Why?
11) How is your new home compared to the old one(s) (in terms of space, area, quality, assets, rent)?
12) How is the area compared to the old one(s) (in terms of access and quality of schools, markets, hospital, roads, infrastructure, environment etc)?
13) How are the facilities here compared to the old one(s) (in terms of access and quality of water, sanitation, garbage disposal)?
14) Do you spend more or less time at home now? Why?
15) Are you satisfied with the new house and area? Why?
16) If not, would you like to move back/somewhere else?
17) How is the quality of environment here compared to the previous area (in terms of cleanness, smells, garbage, sewage, animals ets)? Why?
18) Do you feel safe here in the new area? Why/why not?
19) How is the safety here compared to the previous area (in terms of street lights, better roads, better house, legitimacy of the area)?

2nd domain: Making ends meet

Preliminary questions:

20) What do you do for a living?
21) Do you or members of your family have a stable monthly income?
22) Do you have a bank account? Do you use it often?
23) Do you ever do some other jobs too?

24) Do you have to do so for survival?
25) If you own/did own your own land, can you/did you cultivate some food crops?
26) Do other people in the family/household work? If yes, where and what kinds of jobs?

Further questions:

27) Is the job the same as before moving? Why/why not?
28) How long does it take you or your family members to go to work, and how much does it cost? Is that more or less than before?
29) Has your or your family members' salary or standard of living changed (in terms of income, pension, crops)?
30) How are the living costs here compared to the old area (in terms of rent, food, schooling, hospitals, and transportation)?
31) Were you or your family members compensated for the displacement? How, and how much?
32) What did you do with it (money)? Was the compensation enough? Why?
33) Do you have a debt? Why?
34) If you have a debt, how has it affected to the daily lives of you/your family?
35) Do you always have enough food to eat and feed your family?
36) Do you always have enough money to buy necessities (such as school books, clothes, and medicine)?
37) If not, what do you do?
38) Do you ever have to borrow money or other items from neighbors or relatives?
39) If yes, when? How often? How much?

3rd domain: Enjoyment

Preliminary questions:

40) Besides working and taking care of the house and family, do you have free time? When, and how much?
41) What do you do if you have spare time?
42) Where do you go?
43) Are there some nice places (such as parks, temples, mosques, churches) you like to go to?

Further questions:

44) Do you have more or less free time now than before moving? Why?
45) Do you use your free time differently now in the new house/area?
46) If you don't go out, why?
47) Do you wish there were more/other places to go to?

4th domain: Sources of support

Preliminary questions:

48) Where do your family and friends live? Is that near/far?
49) Have they lived closer before resettlement?
50) How often do you meet with them?
51) Do you know your neighbors?
52) Are they the same than before moving? If not, why?
53) Are there formal sources of help close by (such as hospitals, clinics, pharmacy and nursery)?

Further questions:

54) Do you wish there were more friends, relatives or neighbors living close by? Why?
55) Where do you usually meet with them?
56) Where do you usually meet with the people living in the same area?
57) Where did you used to meet with people in the old area(s)? If it is different now, why?
58) Do you give and get help to others (such as money, time, food, nursing, cleaning, and construction)?
59) What kind of help, and in which situations? To/from whom, and how often?
60) Has the nature of help changed compared to the previous area? Why?
61) Has the amount of help changed compared to the previous area? Why?
62) What would you do if there was no help available?
63) How is the availability and access of formal sources of help?
64) How is it compared to the old area?
65) How are you treated there?
66) How did you adapt to the new area and house? Why?
67) Do you feel different about the area now than when you had just moved? Why?

5th domain: Having a say

Preliminary questions:

68) Were you informed about the relocation? When, how, and by whom?
69) Did you get to decide where and when to move?
70) Was there a place to gather and talk about it?
71) How often did you get to meet with the project people?
72) Is there now a place to gather to discuss?
73) Are there some community groups, women's groups or youth clubs? If not, why?
74) Are you part of any of those groups or societies? If not, why?
75) If there is an issue to decide something in the community, how is it done?

Further questions:

76) Can you describe your opinion on the project and the relocation?
77) Were there times you were opposing the resettlement? Why?
78) Do you know someone else who was opposing it? If yes, what happened then?
79) If you now have a concern, who do you talk first?

80) Have you been able to say your opinion out loud about the new area? If not, why?
81) How are outsiders treating you compared to the old area (better or worse)? Why?
82) How are authorities treating you compared to the old area? Why?
83) Are you satisfied with this project?
84) Do you wish to stay here or move away? Why?
85) What is the most important place for you in this area?

Appendix 2: Expert interviews

Preliminary questions:

1) How is this organization/agent involved in the discussion on urban planning/resettlement/gender roles among urban IDP's in Sri Lanka?
2) What issues and questions are you specialized in urban planning and issues concerning urban IDP's?
3) What are the main stakeholders and partners in your work?

Further questions:

4) How has urbanization changed or developed in Sri Lanka over the years, and in Colombo Metro Region especially?
5) What are the most accurate and current issues to tackle in urbanization and urban planning at the moment in CMR?
6) How was the organization involved in/familiar with the environmental improvement and community development project in Lunawa?
    i. What were your main partners in the project?
    ii. What were the cross cutting principles of the project planning and implementation?
    iii. Have the goals of the project been achieved in all sectors?
    iv. How in LEI&CDP compared to other projects currently going on? Why?
7) How are participatory approaches and community development materialized in urban resettlement projects in CMR?
8) How is gender sensitivity materialized in urban resettlement projects in CMR?
9) How are the principles and frameworks for socially just urban planning and resettlement materializing in other projects in CMR? Has there been a change in this in the recent years? Why?
10) What is your opinion on the Mahinda Chintana vision, and its impacts to urban development?
11) What are the biggest obstacles of your work, and of socially just urban planning over all

Appendix 3: LEI&CDP PAP Entitlement package

Ownerhsip status	Entitlement package when resettling on a resettlement site (option 1)	Additional assistance
Main Category - A 1 : Sole owner of House and Land: **Sub Category – A.1.1 : Main Losses : A House, floor area less than 400 Sqft. and the land** **An occupant holding legal ownership of the Land and the House**	• A block of two perch serviced land in a resettlement site, plus; • Either the full replacement cost of the house acquired, or the actual construction cost of a basic house (Rs. 400,000), whichever is higher, plus; • Market value of the land acquired, plus; • Replacement cost of the other physical losses, plus; • Off-Site resettlement allowances (moving & subsistence) (Rs. 15,000.00) , plus • Initial livelihood restoration grant of Rs25,000 to the livelihood affected families, plus; • Initial income restoration grant (Minimum Rs. 9,000) to the persons whose income is affected	• Guided shelter development program for each resettlement site with the technical assistance is implemented to facilitate PAP HHs selecting option I • If market value of the house / physical structures other assets (excluding the land) exceeds the replacement cost of house / physical structure, agreed to pay by the project, the differences will be paid to the respective PAP HH • In addition to one of these options, to be selected by PAPs, (a) assistance would be provided for the re-establishment of the livelihood and restoration of the income if they are affected by acquisition of Land, House or other Physical structures (b) temporary accommodation allocation is paid if required • Opportunity is provided to purchase 2 perch land on market value, in addition to the 2 perch already offered (free of cost) taking into consideration; (a) the floor area of the house (b) extent of land acquired (c) number of families in the HH (d) the availability of land in the resettlement site
Main Category - A 1 : Sole owner of House and Land **Sub Category – A.1.1 : Main Losses : A House, floor area between 401 – 1000 Sqft. and the land** **An occupant holding legal ownership of the Land and the House**	• Either, two perch serviced land in a resettlement site or four perch land in a resettlement site (two perches free and balance two perches on market value), plus; • Either the full replacement cost of the house acquired, or the actual construction cost of a basic house (Rs. 400,000), whichever is higher, plus; • Market value of the land acquired, plus; • Replacement cost of the other physical losses, plus; • Off-Site resettlement allowances (moving & subsistence) (Rs. 15,000.00) , plus;	• Guided shelter development program for… (as mentioned above) • If market value of the house / physical structures… (as mentioned above) • In addition to one of these options, to be selected by PAPs, (a)assistance would be provided for the re-establishment of the livelihood and restoration of the income if they are affected by acquisition of Land, House or other Physical structures • (b)temporary accommodation allocation is paid if required

	• Initial livelihood restoration grant of Rs25,000 to the livelihood affected families, plus; • Initial income restoration grant (Minimum Rs. 9,000) to the persons whose income is affected	
Main Category - A 1 : Sole owner of House and Land **Sub Category A.1.3 - Main Losses : A House, floor area more than 1001 Sqft. and the land** **An occupant holding legal ownership of the Land and the House**	• Either, two perch serviced land in a resettlement site or six perch land in a resettlement site (two perches free and four perches on market value), plus; • Either the full replacement cost of the house acquired, or the actual construction cost of a basic house (Rs. 400,000), whichever is higher, plus; • Market value of the land acquired, plus; • Replacement cost of the other physical losses, plus; • Off-Site resettlement allowances (moving & subsistence) (Rs. 15,000.00) , plus; • Initial livelihood restoration grant of Rs25,000 to the livelihood affected families, plus; • Initial income restoration grant (Minimum Rs. 9,000) to the persons whose income is affected	• Guided shelter development program for… (as mentioned above) • If market value of the house / physical structures… (as mentioned above) • In addition to one of these options, to be selected by PAPs, (a) assistance would be provided for the re-establishment of the livelihood and restoration of the income if they are affected by acquisition of Land, House or other Physical structures (b)temporary accommodation allocation is paid if required
Main Category - A 2 : Permit Holder / State Lease Holder **Sub Category A.2.1 - Main Losses : A House, floor area less than 400 Sqft** **An occupant holding legally valid permit / lease, issued from the state**	• Two perch serviced land in a resettlement site, plus; • Either the full replacement cost of the house acquired, or the actual construction cost of a basic house (Rs. 400,000), whichever is higher, plus; • Replacement cost of the other physical losses, plus; • Off-Site resettlement allowances (moving & subsistence) (Rs. 15,000.00), plus; • Initial livelihood restoration grant of Rs25,000 to the livelihood affected families, plus; • Initial income restoration grant (Minimum Rs. 9,000) to the persons whose income is affected	• Guided shelter development program for… (as mentioned above) • If market value of the house / physical structures… (as mentioned above) • Market value of the land would be paid for the state lease over 30 years. Value of encumbrance would be paid for lease less than 29 years including annually renewal lease • In addition to one of these options, to be selected by PAPs, (a) assistance would be provided for the re-establishment of the livelihood and restoration of the income if they are affected by acquisition of Land, House or other Physical structures (b) temporary accommodation allocation is paid if required • Opportunity is provided to purchase 2 perch land on market value, in addition to the 2 perch already offered, free of cost, taking into consideration;

		(a) the floor area of the house (b) extent of land acquired (c) number of families in the HH (d) the availability of land in the resettlement site
Main Category - A 2 : Permit Holder / State Lease Holder **Sub Category A.2.2 - Main Losses : A House, floor area between 401 – 1000 Sqft.** **An occupant holding legally valid permit / lease, issued from the state**	• Either, two perches serviced land in a resettlement site or four perches land in a resettlement site (two perches free and two perches on market value), plus; • Either the full replacement cost of the house acquired, or the actual construction cost of a basic house (Rs. 400,000), whichever is higher, plus; • Replacement cost of the other physical losses, plus; • Off-Site resettlement allowances (moving & subsistence) (Rs. 15,000.00) , plus; • Initial livelihood restoration grant of Rs25,000 to the livelihood affected families, , plus; • Initial income restoration grant (Minimum Rs. 9,000) to the persons whose income is affected	• Guided shelter development program for… (as mentioned above) • If market value of the house / physical structures… (as mentioned above) • Market value of the land would be paid for the state lease over 30 years. Value of encumbrance would be paid for lease less than 29 years including annually renewal lease • In addition to one of these options, to be selected by PAPs, (a) assistance would be provided for the re-establishment of the livelihood and restoration of the income if they are affected by acquisition of Land, House or other Physical structures (b) temporary accommodation allocation is paid if required
Main Category - A 2 : Permit Holder / State Lease Holder **Sub Category A.2.3 - Main Losses : A House, floor area more than 1001 Sqft.** **An occupant holding legally valid permit / lease, issued from the state**	• Either, two perches serviced land in a resettlement site or six perches land in a resettlement site (two perches free and four perches on market value), plus; • Either the full replacement cost of the house acquired, or the actual construction cost of a basic house (Rs. 400,000), whichever is higher, plus; • Replacement cost of the other physical losses, plus; • Off-Site resettlement allowances (moving & subsistence) (Rs. 15,000.00) , plus; • Initial livelihood restoration grant of Rs25,000 to the livelihood affected families, plus; • Initial income restoration grant (Minimum Rs. 9,000) to the persons whose income is affected	• Guided shelter development program for… (as mentioned above) • If market value of the house / physical structures… (as mentioned above) • Market value of the land would be paid for the state lease over 30 years. Value of encumbrance would be paid for lease less than 29 years including annually renewal lease • In addition to one of these options, to be selected by PAPs, (a) assistance would be provided for the re-establishment of the livelihood and restoration of the income if they are affected by acquisition of Land, House or other Physical structures (b) temporary accommodation allocation is paid if required

Main Category A 3 : Unauthorized House Holders **Sub Category A.3.1 - Main Losses : A House / shelter** **Occupant(s) (HHs) living in a permanent/ semi-permanent / temporary houses/ built on a Land owned by state, local government public agencies or a private party without proper legal agreement or permit**	• Two perch serviced land in a resettlement site, plus; • Either the full replacement cost of the house acquired, or the actual construction cost of a basic house (Rs. 400,000), whichever is higher, plus; • Replacement cost of the other physical losses, plus; • Off-Site resettlement allowances (moving & subsistence) (Rs. 15,000.00), plus; • Initial livelihood restoration grant of Rs25,000 to the livelihood affected families, plus; • Initial income restoration grant (Minimum Rs. 9,000) to the persons whose income is affected	• Guided shelter development program for… (as mentioned above) • Value of encumbrance of the land would be paid on the basis of the duration of their continues occupation with minimum limit of 75% of the market value [1-5 years – 25% of market value, 6-10 years – 40% of market value, 11-15 years – 60% of market value and over 16 years – 75% of market value] • In addition to one of these options, to be selected by PAPs, (a) assistance would be provided for the re-establishment of the livelihood and restoration of the income if they are affected by acquisition of Land, House or other Physical structures (b) temporary accommodation allocation is paid if required
Main Category - A 4 : Tenants / Private Lease **Sub Category A.4.1 - Main Losses : Long-term tenancy/ A rental house (Tenants under the protection of Rental Act)** **HHs occupying a house on rent / lease, continuously since 1980 January and come under protection of Rental Act**	• Two perch serviced land in a resettlement site, plus; • Either the full replacement cost of the house acquired, or the actual construction cost of a basic house (Rs. 400,000), whichever is higher, plus; • Off-Site resettlement allowances (moving & subsistence) (Rs. 15,000.00) , plus; • Initial livelihood restoration grant of Rs25,000 to the livelihood affected families, plus; • Initial income restoration grant (Minimum Rs. 9,000) to the persons whose income is affected	• Guided shelter development program for… (as mentioned above) • In addition to one of these options, to be selected by PAPs, (a) assistance would be provided for the re-establishment of the livelihood and restoration of the income if they are affected by acquisition of Land, House or other Physical structures (b) temporary accommodation allocation is paid if required
Main Category - A 4 : Tenants / Private Lease **Sub Category A.4.2 - Main Losses : Short-term tenancy/ A rental house (After 1980 January)**	• Rental value of an equal or better replacement house on lease/ rent for a period of two years in cash (Minimum rental Rs. 50,000.00), plus; • Off-Site resettlement allowances (moving & subsistence) (Rs. 15,000.00), plus;	• In addition to one of these options, to be selected by PAPs, • (a) assistance would be provided for the re-establishment of the livelihood and restoration of the income if they are affected by acquisition of Land, House or other Physical structures • (b) temporary accommodation allocation is paid if required

HHs occupying a house on rent / lease and do not come under Protection of Rent Act (Boards and other categories are not considered as tenants)	• Initial livelihood restoration grant of Rs25,000 to the livelihood affected families, plus; • Initial income restoration grant (Minimum Rs. 9,000) to the persons whose income is affected	• If the tenancy HHs are living in a substandard housing for a considerable time period paying a rent below to the open market rent of a basic house and / or they are identified as vulnerable family category, they would be considered to provide a plot of land and cost of the basis house for building up of a replacement house.

Appendix 4: National Involuntary Resettlement Policy (UN-Habitat 2009)

1. Involuntary resettlement should be avoided or reduced as much as possible by reviewing alternatives to the project as well as alternatives within the project

2. Where involuntary resettlement is unavoidable, affected people should be assisted to re-establish themselves and improve their quality of life

3. Gender equality and equity should be ensured and adhered to throughout the policy

4. Affected persons should be fully involved in the selection of relocation sites, livelihood compensation and development options at the earliest opportunity

5. Replacement land should be an option for compensation in the case of loss of land in the absence of replacement land cash compensation should be an option for all affected persons

6. Compensation for loss of land, structures, other assets and income should be based on full replacement cost and should be paid promptly. This should include transaction costs

7. Resettlement should be planned and implemented with full participation of the provincial and local authorities

8. To assist those affected to be economically and socially integrated into the host communities, participatory measures should be designed and implemented

9. Common property resources and community and public services should be provided to affected people

10. Resettlement should be planned as a development activity for the affected people

11. Affected persons who do not have documented title to land should receive fair and just treatment

12. Vulnerable groups should be identified and given appropriate assistance to substantially improve their living standards

13. Project Executing Agencies should bear the full costs of compensation and resettlement